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CLARENDON PRESS SERIES

XENOPHON

HELLENICA, BOOKS I, II

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

G. E. UNDERHILL, M.A.

FELLOW AND SENIOR TUTOR OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE

PART I.—INTRODUCTION AND TEXT

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1907

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH
NEW YORK AND TORONTO

P R E F A C E.

THE text adopted in the present edition of the first two books of Xenophon's *Hellenica* follows in the main the last revision of Dindorf, published in 1885, any departures from which are duly noticed as they occur.

The introduction is divided into several sections. The first tries rather perhaps to raise than to solve the main points in the complicated question as to the method of composition and the intention of the author in these two books,—a question, which, since the criticism of Niebuhr, has been vigorously discussed by Peter, Sievers, Breitenbach, and many other German scholars, but with results on the whole more negative than positive. The views taken in this and in the following section on the equally vexed question of Xenophon's chronology are chiefly based on those advanced by Breitenbach in his second edition in the Weidmann series of Greek and Latin Classics (Berlin, 1884). The third section endeavours to supply, from other authorities, what Xenophon himself almost entirely omits, an account of the internal affairs of Athens during the last seven and a half years of the Peloponnesian War; and for this portion of the introduction Gilbert's *Beiträge zur Innern Geschichte Athens* (Leipzig, 1877) has been found most useful. The fourth section states once again and discusses as briefly as possible the many difficulties of fact and of law occurring in Xenophon's version of the trial of the Generals after the battle of Arginusæ; and any completeness to which it may pretend is mostly due

to the many valuable suggestions kindly made by Mr. T. Case, Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College.

The notes are intended not only to explain the critical and grammatical difficulties in the text, which, though serious when they do arise, fortunately occur but seldom, but also to supply a commentary upon the history of the times, and to point out even at the risk of repetition the numerous gaps and points of obscurity in Xenophon's narrative.

To give greater completeness to the Edition, a chronological summary, a running analysis, and a copious index of proper names have been added.

Finally, the Editor is much indebted to Mr. Evelyn Abbott, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, for the great assistance which he has so generously given him, in carrying the book through the press, and for the many corrections and improvements which he has made for him throughout the whole work.

G. E. U.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,

April, 1888.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. THE COMPOSITION OF THE HELLENICA.

ALTHOUGH the writings of Xenophon, known as the Hellenica, have a certain unity of subject in so far as they all treat of Greek history, yet even a cursory examination soon reveals that they fall into two, if not three, parts, distinguished by intervals of time, by differences of style, and apparently by variety of purpose. The first part again subdivides into two, of which the one extends from bk. i. to bk. ii. 3. 10, and continues the history of the Peloponnesian War from the point where it was left in the unfinished work of Thucydides down to the destruction of the Long Walls of Athens—an event which Thucydides¹ himself takes as marking the end of the war: while the other takes up the course of events again after an interval of six months at ii. 3. 11, and relates what was virtually but another outbreak of the same war, down to the final pacification of Athens by Pausanias king of Sparta. The second part (bks. iii.—vii.) resumes the narrative of Greek history one and a-half years later, and continues it, without any serious break, down to 362 B.C., the year of the battle of Mantinea and the death of Epaminondas. Two questions, therefore, arise at once, (1) what is the relation of the first part to the History of Thucydides? and (2) what is the relation of the parts to one another?

As to the first question, evidence both internal and external alike points to books i. ii. being designedly a continuation of Thucydides. Diodorus Siculus (xiii. 42) says *Ξενοφῶν καὶ Θεόπομπος ἀφ' ὧν ἀπέλιπε Θουκυδίδης τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποίηται*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus² and Marcellinus³ give similar testimony. And

¹ v. 26.

² Ad Pomp. 4.

³ Vit. Thuc. § 45.

internal evidence shows that it is not a continuation merely in the sense in which Thucydides continued Herodotus, or Theopompus continued Thucydides, by beginning an independent narrative at the point where that of the predecessor stopped; but that it was written with the express purpose of completing what Thucydides for some unknown reason had left unfinished. On no other hypothesis, except indeed that the beginning of the *Hellenica* itself is lost (which seems exceedingly unlikely), can it be explained why the author should begin, not only without an introduction—a preliminary which Xenophon dispenses with in other works—but without any explanation, however brief, of the events immediately preceding, and of the persons engaged in them, sufficient to put the reader in a position to understand the further development of their history. On the contrary, Xenophon plunges him ‘in medias res’ with the connecting phrase *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα*, which seems to refer to the battle of Cynossema, previously described by Thucydides¹. He is supposed to be already acquainted with Thymochares, the Athenian general, and Agesandridas², the Spartan general, who had a few months previously met in battle off Eretria; and also to know the place, i. e. the Hellespont, where the Athenian and Lacedaemonian fleets were stationed when this second (*αὐθις*) naval engagement took place; while not a word is said of the disaster which Diodorus (xiii. 41) relates to have overtaken Agesandridas off Mount Athos in the interval. Similarly, Dorieus is suddenly represented as sailing from Rhodes to the Hellespont, but in Thucydides³ he last appears at Miletus, whence Diodorus⁴ tells us that he had been sent by Mindarus to Rhodes. The Athenian generals are introduced with the article (*τοῖς στρατηγοῖς*) as if they had been already mentioned; but we are left to gather from Thucydides⁵ that they were Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus. Xenophon omits altogether to mention the movement of the Athenian fleet from Cyzicus to the mouth of the Hellespont⁶, and the corresponding movement of the Peloponnesian fleet from Elaeus to Abydos. So, too, (§ 6) Alcibiades sails up from no

¹ Cf. Thuc. viii. 107, 108 *πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον . . . ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους.*

² Thuc. viii. 95.

³ viii. 84.

⁴ xiii. 38.

⁵ viii. 104.

⁶ Cf. Thuc. viii. 107 with i. 1. 2.

one knows where, and (§ 12) Theramenes comes from Macedonia; whereas Thucydides¹ had left the one in Samos and the other in Athens. The motive of Tissaphernes' journey to the Hellespont is never stated, and can only be supplied by a reference to Thucydides' narrative². All these passages, therefore, seem to take for granted an acquaintance with Thucydides, and if it be further supposed that the last fifteen chapters of Thucydides' eighth book have been lost—for to all appearances an interval of some five or six weeks must have elapsed since the last event mentioned in Thucydides and the first alluded to by Xenophon—even the points of obscurity in them are capable of explanation.

Again in books i.—ii. 3. 10 Xenophon adopts an annalistic mode of treatment, which it would appear from the later books was entirely foreign to his natural inclination for grouping events together. But so soon as he has brought his narrative down to the surrender of Athens, which Thucydides³ had announced as the goal of his undertaking, he drops this method, and relates the usurpation of the Thirty without any definite marks of time. And the fact that even in the first period he does not adhere consistently⁴ to Thucydides' chronological system of summers and winters, shows still more plainly that he was modelling his own work on that of somebody else. For once⁵ he forgets to give the beginning of the year, twice the beginning of the winter⁶, and, more often than not, he does not notice the end of the summers and winters—data which Thucydides never omits. And sometimes before he has finished with the narrative of one year, he anticipates the events of the next⁷. Further, Xenophon, like Thucydides, at the end of each year finds a place wherein to put a brief account of contemporary events, e.g. in Persia, Sicily, or elsewhere, which he could not well weave into his main narrative; but, unlike Thucydides, he does not make it plain at what season of the year in question they occurred⁸. Finally, Xenophon⁹ skips over the interval of six months which elapsed between the surrender of Athens and the appointment of the Thirty without any definite mark of time

¹ viii. 92, 108.

² viii. 109.

³ v. 26. ⁴ Cp. *Introd.* § 2 on Xenophon's Chronology.

⁵ Probably at i. 5. 11. ⁶ i. 4. 20; 5. 15. ⁷ Cf. i. 1. 31; i. 5. 16.

⁸ Cf. i. 1. 37; 2. 19; 3. 1; 5. 21; 6. 1.

⁹ ii. 1. 8, 9.

at all, save the mention of an eclipse¹, so that, had we his narrative only, we should have no idea that any such interval had occurred.

All the evidence, therefore, external and internal alike, seems to show that Xenophon purposely intended the first part of the *Hellenica* to be a completion of Thucydides' unfinished history of the Peloponnesian War.

In discussing the second question, the relation of the two parts of the *Hellenica* to each other, we get little to help us from external testimony. A distinction into two parts does indeed seem to be implied in the words of Marcellinus²—τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἐτῶν (of the Peloponnesian War) πράγματα ἀναπληροῖ ὃ τε Θεόπομπος καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, οἷς συνάπτει τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν. Similarly, too, Dionysius of Halicarnassus³ speaks of Xenophon's third great work as τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ ἦν (sc. ἱστορίαν) κατέλιπεν ἀτελῇ Θουκυδίδης, ἐν ᾗ καταλύονται τε οἱ τριάκοντα καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθεῖλον, αὐθις ἀνίστανται. But both authors seem to make the distinction one of time only, and to regard the two parts as together forming a connected whole. Such a view, however, on a comparison of them, would appear to be quite untenable.

In books iii.—vii. all the trammels of Thucydides' system of arrangement and chronology disappear. Though they contain the history of forty years, the beginnings of years are only twice noticed⁴. Summers and winters are no longer taken as formal marks of time, but are casually mentioned only in conjunction with events⁵. And the events themselves are no more related year by year in the order that they occurred, but Xenophon groups them together wherever he sees a causal nexus between them, often narrating a connected series of events quite continuously, and then returning to his starting-point in order to bring up the general course of Greek history to the same date⁶.

Again, although even in the first two books Xenophon⁷ once breaks through the impersonal style of writing, which he had inherited from Thucydides, and in two or three other passages

¹ ii. 3. 4.

² Vit. Thuc. § 45.

³ Ep. ad Pomp. 4.

⁴ Cf. vii. i. 1; 2. 10.

⁵ Cf. iii. 2. 6; iv. 8. 7.

⁶ Cf. iii. i. 1–iii. 2. 20 with iii. 2. 21–31.

⁷ ii. 3. 56.

adds moral comments, such as are hardly to be found in the earlier historian, still in the later books he allows his own moral and theological proclivities to appear much more on the surface. The general theme of the five books seems to be the rise and downfall of Spartan greatness¹. As formerly in Athens, so now at Sparta, power gives birth to ὕβρις, ὕβρις to impiety, and impiety soon brings punishment in its train². Unwarned by examples, the Thebans use their supremacy with an insolence equally great, and are overtaken with a ruin still more rapid. As with states, so with individuals. Dercyllidas and Agesilaus show reverence towards the gods³, and reap an immediate reward for their piety: impiety as quickly meets with punishment. Xenophon is no longer the simple annalist of facts; now he appears in his better known character of the moralist, reading his lessons from the pages of human history.

The differences of style between the earlier and later books are no less marked. Books i., ii. are disfigured by omissions, by obscurities left unexplained, by unequal and disproportionate treatment of events, in themselves equally important, by unaccountable breaks and interruptions, and by a general want of finish—of which more hereafter. But books iii.-vii., whatever may be thought of their positive value as historical documents, contain a narrative which is indeed plainly and simply told, but at the same time with an admirable literary finish. In them Xenophon follows the requirements of literary, if not of historical, proportion. No incidents are related at undue length; no events, which he chooses to bring into his narrative at all, are scamped. The speeches and dialogues so frequently introduced are all appropriate and suitable to the occasion. In passing from the earlier to the later books, we seem to pass from chaos to order.

Finally, internal evidence seems to point to the earlier and later books of the Hellenics having been written at very different dates⁴. For in i. ii., with one exception, there are no allusions

¹ Cf. v. 3. 27; 4. 1.

² Cf. v. 4. 12; vi. 3. 1.

³ iii. 1. 17-19; 4. 11; 3. 20.

⁴ Rosenstiel (De Xenophontis Historiae Graecae parte bis edita) ingeniously tries to show by an examination of the use of certain words, and more especially of ἐπεσθαι and ἀκολουθεῖν, and of περί and ἀμφί, that

to any event happening later than 403 B.C., though in several passages such allusions might have been aptly introduced¹. The exception is the last words of ii., where Xenophon speaks of the fidelity of the Athenian democrats to their oath of amnesty as continuing *ἔτι καὶ νῦν*. Here Niebuhr long ago pointed out that such praise can only mean that certain definite persons, who had been guilty of certain definite acts during the usurpation of the Thirty, had never down to that time been prosecuted or in any way attacked. Therefore the interval between the Amnesty and the time when these words were written cannot have been very long, not more than ten or fifteen years at most. Now Xenophon returned to Greece after his Asiatic expedition with Cyrus in 394 B.C. He must, therefore, have finished bk. ii. shortly after that date. But the last five books he must have written much later; for in vi. 4. 37, when recounting the events of 371, 370 B.C., he alludes to the death of Alexander of Pherae in 357 B.C., and in bk. vii. he ends his history with the battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C.

So far, therefore, it may be concluded that bks. i. and ii. were composed at a time, on a system, and with an object, quite different from bks. iii.—vii.

But, as already mentioned, the difficulties in bks. i., ii. do not end here: there still remain to be considered the strange omissions, the unequal and disproportionate treatment of events of very varying importance, and the numerous points of obscurity which disfigure these two books.

To begin with the omissions, which occur not only in the interval between the point where Thucydides ends and the Hellenics fall into three parts, the first extending from the beginning to ii. 3. 10, the second from ii. 3. 11 to v. 1. 36, and the third from v. 2 to the end. The first and third parts exhibit, he thinks, a more consistent use of the purely Attic dialect, while the second part is full of Ionisms. He therefore conjectures that the first part was written just after Xenophon's return from the expedition of the Ten Thousand, c. 400 B.C., that the second part was first composed immediately after the peace of Antalcidas, 387 B.C., but was re-edited (a hypothesis which he is obliged to make to account for the somewhat indiscriminate use of Attic and Ionic forms) at the same time that the third part was written, i.e. subsequent to 362 B.C.

¹ Cf. ii. 2. 19 with iii. 5. 8 and vi. 5. 55; ii. 4. 30 with iii. 5. 5, etc.

Xenophon begins, but frequently throughout the first two books. Xenophon does not mention¹ the Spartan offers of peace to the Athenians after the battle of Cyzicus, which, Diodorus says, were rejected through the influence of the demagogue Cleophon. The recovery of Pylos² by the Lacedaemonians, which the Athenians had held ever since 425 B.C., Xenophon represents as the mere expulsion of some runaway Helots; and he does not say a word about the unsuccessful expedition which the Athenians sent under Anytus to relieve their garrison in the place; nor about the recovery by the Megarians of their port of Nisaea at this same time, which had been in the possession of the Athenians since 424; nor yet about the battle, which shortly ensued, when the Athenians defeated the Megarians with great slaughter. Again, nothing is said about Alcibiades' plundering expedition against Cyme, though according to Diodorus³ it was one of the chief causes of the complaints against him, which brought about his downfall. Similarly⁴, Xenophon does not tell how in the year of his admiralty Lysander organized the oligarchical clubs in Asiatic Greece and the Aegean, which, after the battle of Aegospotami, did such good service to the Lacedaemonian cause. In bk. ii.⁵ Xenophon omits the selection of an oligarchical committee of Five at Athens, after the surrender of the city, who were called Ephors out of compliment to Sparta, and the struggle of some months between the oligarchs and democrats before the appointment of the Thirty, wherein, as a preliminary step, many of the generals, taxiarchs, and other important persons belonging to the democratic party were arrested. He omits, too, the third visit⁶ of Lysander to Athens in the autumn of 404 B.C., during which the Thirty were appointed, and also Lysander's further exploits in the Aegean in the next six months; and, stranger still, he omits to notice

¹ Cf. i. 1. 23 with Diod. xiii. 52, Nepos Alc. 5. The Scholiast on Arist. Frogs 1580, speaks of a second similar application after Arginusae, which, if authentic, is also omitted by Xenophon.

² Cf. i. 2. 18 with Diod. xiii. 64, 65.

³ Cf. i. 5. 15 with Diod. xiii. 73.

⁴ Cf. i. 6. 4, ii. 2. 5 with Diod. xiii. 70, 104, 14. 10, and Plut. Lys. 5.

⁵ Cf. ii. 3. 2 with Lysias xii. 43.

⁶ Cf. ii. 3. 2 with Lysias xiii. 15.

Alcibiades' murder¹ and the share that Lysander had in bringing it about. So, too, the cruel decree² of the Spartans, forbidding any Greek state to give shelter to the Athenian exiles, is passed over; and the ultimate fate³ of the Thirty themselves is dismissed in a single unintelligible phrase.

Obscurities due to the omission of some important link in the chain of events, or to excessive brevity, are even more numerous. It has been already shown how Xenophon presupposes a knowledge of Thucydides, and that even then more has to be supplied to fill up the interval of six weeks between the two narratives; but the same defects are noticeable throughout. For example, the newly-appointed generals coming from Syracuse are made to take over the fleet at Miletus, which Xenophon had represented as built and still in dock at Antandros⁴. Thrasyllus was sent to Athens to procure reinforcements for the Athenian armament in the Hellespont⁵; but when at last he is given them, he takes them, without a word of explanation, to Ionia. No reason is assigned for the Lacedaemonian ambassadors and Hermocrates attaching themselves to the Athenian ambassadors⁶, to whom Pharnabazus promised a safe conduct to the Persian king after the capture of Byzantium. These ambassadors at Gordium meet other Lacedaemonian ambassadors returning from the king⁷, who are introduced with the definite article, as if already mentioned. What finally became of Hermocrates, when he attempted to return to Syracuse, is never stated⁸. Callicratidas at an important crisis sent ships to Sparta to procure supplies⁹, but nothing more is heard of them. Though in 409 B.C. Chalcedon was not captured by the Athenians¹⁰, yet in 405 B.C. it appears in their possession. Theramenes¹¹ in his defence against Critias refers, as to a well-known fact, to the banishment of Thrasybulus, Anytus, and Alcibiades, although not a word has previously been said about them. After the death of Theramenes the Thirty forbid all *ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου* to enter the city¹²; but it nowhere appears that they had been previously

¹ Cf. ii. 3. 42 with Plut. Alc. 39 and Nep. Alc. 10.

² Cf. ii. 4. 1 with Lysias. xii. 99 and Diod. xiv. 6.

³ ii. 4. 43.

⁴ i. 1. 26 and 31.

⁵ i. 1. 8 and i. 2. 2.

⁶ i. 3. 13.

⁷ i. 4. 2.

⁸ i. 1. 27-29; 4. 7.

⁹ i. 6. 8, 9.

¹⁰ i. 3. 8 and ii. 2. 1.

¹¹ Cf. ii. 3. 44 with 13, 14, 21.

¹² ii. 4. 1.

driven out. Finally the Ten in the Piraeus are introduced with the definite article, although never before mentioned¹.

Still more unaccountable is the curious inequality and disproportionate length with which many episodes are treated. Personal details, as any one acquainted with the other writings of Xenophon might expect, are often given with considerable fulness, like the negotiations between Lysander and Cyrus², the stratagem whereby Conon contrived to send to Athens news of his blockade in Mytilene³, the measures adopted by Eteonicus to quell the mutiny of his troops at Chios⁴, the execution of Theramenes⁵, and the device of the oligarchical engineer to hinder the advance of Thrasybulus' siege engines⁶. On the other hand, many important events are dismissed in a few words, e.g. the expulsion of the Philo-Laconian party from Thasos and the consequent exile of Pasippidas⁷; the capture of Selybria⁸; the joint attack of Thrasybulus and Alcibiades upon Phocaea⁹; the capture of Delphinium by the Spartans¹⁰; the accusation of Erasinides *περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας* after Arginusae¹¹; the *στάσις* in which the demagogue Cleophon was slain; the revolt of the Athenian allies and the institution of Harmosts and Decarchies after the battle of Aegospotami¹²; the amnesty of Patroclides¹³, by which he attempted to unite all parties at Athens to sustain the coming siege; the opposition offered to Theramenes' proposals for peace with Sparta and the ultimate surrender of the city¹⁴; the appointment of the Thirty at Athens¹⁵; the return of Thrasybulus and the democratic exiles, and their reorganization of the constitution¹⁶; and lastly, the annihilation of the Thirty at Eleusis, and the final amnesty of Thrasybulus¹⁷. There is the same want of proportion in the speeches reported in these two books. While the speech of Alcibiades to his fleet before the battle of Cyzicus is dismissed in three lines¹⁸, the speeches of Callicratidas to the discontented Lacedaemonians and to the Milesian assembly are given at some length¹⁹. Similarly, only the bare subject of Alcibiades' speeches before the Athenian

¹ ii. 4. 19. ² i. 5. 2-7. ³ i. 6. 19-21. ⁴ ii. 1. 1-4.
⁵ ii. 3. 56. ⁶ ii. 4. 27. ⁷ i. 1. 32. ⁸ i. 3. 10. ⁹ i. 5. 11.
¹⁰ i. 5. 15. ¹¹ i. 7. 2; 7. 35. ¹² ii. 2. 6; 2. 5; 3. 6.
¹³ ii. 2. 11. ¹⁴ ii. 2. 22-23. ¹⁵ ii. 3. 2. ¹⁶ ii. 4. 39, 43.
¹⁷ ii. 4. 43. ¹⁸ i. 1. 14. ¹⁹ i. 6. 5, 8-11.

senate and assembly on his return from exile is indicated¹; whereas the speeches of Euryptolemus in defence of the generals², and of Critias and Theramenes³, delivered on occasions of certainly no greater importance, are reported at an extraordinary length—greater, indeed, than any in the five later books.

To account for these defects various theories, more or less plausible, but none very satisfactory, have been started. Some of them may be at once dismissed. Thus there is no evidence, either internal or external, to show that for these two books Xenophon used the materials already collected by Thucydides for the completion of his work. Such a hypothesis furnishes no explanation whatever why some events should have been put in and others left out, why some parts should have been elaborated and others not, especially as in the more elaborated portions, e.g. the long speeches of Euryptolemus, Critias, and Theramenes, there are no traces of Thucydides' peculiarities of style. Still less defensible is the theory that in their present shape bks. i., ii. are an epitome of a larger work of Xenophon's own. For the characteristics of an epitome are to leave out unimportant details altogether, and to give a summary of the whole, laying most emphasis on the events of most importance. But in these books the case is frequently reversed.

More worthy of examination is Siever's⁴ theory, that these defects of omission and commission are due to Xenophon's partiality for Sparta and her constitution. In support of his view, he adduces the omission of the humiliating offers of peace through the mouthpiece of the ephor Endius after the defeat of Cyzicus; of the crushing defeat of the Megarians just after they had succeeded in recovering their port at Nisaea; of Agis' unsuccessful sally from Decelea right up to the walls of Athens; of Lysander's organization of the oligarchical clubs among the Asiatic Greeks; of Lysander's cruel conduct towards the Milesians⁵; of the violent measures whereby Lysander set up the Thirty at Athens; of the part which Lysander played in procuring the assassination of Alcibiades—to which might be added the defective account Xenophon gives of the recovery of Pylos by the Lacedaemonians,

¹ i. 4. 20.² i. 7. 16–33.³ ii. 3. 24–49.⁴ Comment. Inst. de Xen. Hell.⁵ Diod. xiii. 104.

and the mean motive that he attributes to king Pausanias for checkmating Lysander's design of extermination against the Athenian exiles under Thrasybulus¹. But an almost equal number of omissions may be collected of incidents favourable to Sparta, and of insertions of things damaging to her reputation. Thus Xenophon never has a word of praise for Lysander, although he was the victor at Aegospotami, and the main cause of the downfall of Athens; and he evidently has a much greater admiration not only for the unsuccessful Callicratidas, between whose unselfish and patriotic behaviour and Lysander's meanness and ambition a tacit contrast is manifestly implied; but even for the hesitating Pausanias, who throughout showed himself at heart the consistent friend of Athens. Again, Xenophon omits the recapture of Nisaea by the Megarians, and the capture of Chios, Iasos, and Sestos by the Peloponnesians²—all Lacedæmonian successes most damaging to Athens. On the other hand, he relates in full the disastrous defeats of the Peloponnesians at Abydos, Cyzicus, and Arginusæ, and even gives verbatim Hippocrates' pitiable letter to the Spartan government. Neither does he gloze over the appointment of the ruffian Callibius to be harmost at Athens, or the enormities committed by the Thirty under his sanction and under the protection of the Spartan garrison. Moreover, to take the converse of the theory, it seems to be just as much a matter of accident what incidents Xenophon happens to insert or omit favourable or damaging to the reputation of Athens. Thus, on the one side he does not relate the nefarious intrigues of the oligarchical party after the battle of Aegospotami, their appointment of the Five Ephors, their arrest under various pretences of the leading democrats, and their base invitation of Lysander to help them in suppressing the democracy. But on the other side, though he does indeed relate how conscience-stricken the Athenians felt after the battle of Aegospotami, fearing that now they themselves would suffer the fate that they had inflicted on defenceless people like the Melians, yet he omits Cleophon's opposition to Endius' offer of peace after the battles of Cyzicus and Arginusæ, and his still more foolish opposition to the comparatively mild conditions first offered by Sparta during the siege of Athens. Neither does he

¹ ii. 4. 29 φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ.

² Diod. xiii. 65, 104, 106.

record the failure of Anytus' expedition to relieve Pylos, and the subsequent trial of that demagogue, when he only escaped condemnation by bribing his judges, this being, as Diodorus¹ tells us, the first known instance of corruption in an Athenian law court.

It would seem, therefore, that Siever's theory is equally untenable with the others, and that Niebuhr's criticism is quite justified, that, however Philo-Laconian Xenophon may show himself in the five later books, his narrative in bks. i., ii. is quite impartial.

Later critics² have tried to discover traces of personal prejudice. Enough has already been said about Lysander, Callicratidas, and Pausanias, to dispose of the charge in their case; but Xenophon's picture of Alcibiades deserves more notice. It is true that he passes over some of Alcibiades' most splendid exploits in a word or two, like his capture of Selybria³, his escort of the Eleusinian procession by land, and his successful speeches in defence before the Athenian Senate and the Assembly. But, on the other hand, he passes still more briefly over his failure at Andros, his marauding expeditions from Samos in the winter of 408-407, for which the first complaints were brought against him at Athens, and his final disgrace and loss of his generalship; and he omits altogether the scandalous tales which Plutarch and other authorities delight to retail against him. Moreover, he even enlarges on the favourable feelings with which far the larger section of the Athenian people welcomed him on his return, while he dismisses the murmurs of his enemies against him in a few scarcely intelligible lines; and he dwells at some length on the patriotic advice which Alcibiades gave the careless Athenian generals just before the battle of Aegospotami, suppressing the fact, which Diodorus⁴ relates, that the would-be patriot was at the same time actuated by motives of private interest. The defects, therefore, in his picture of Alcibiades are neither more nor less than those to be found in his sketches of other persons, like Hermocrates, Callicratidas, and Conon, with whom he was certainly more in sympathy.

So far then the above examination has brought us only to

¹ xiii. 64.

² Cf. Hertzberg, *Alcibiades*.

³ Cf. *Plut. Alc.* 30.

⁴ xiii. 105.

the negative result, that there is no single key whereby to solve all the difficulties with which bks. i., ii. abound ; and, indeed, that many of them admit of no explanation whatever. In some cases we can perhaps see that Xenophon's fondness for personal anecdote or interest in the art of war has led him to narrate little incidents, in themselves of no importance, at disproportionate length, but personal feelings either one way or the other do not help us to account for his omissions. Perhaps the most obvious theory to explain them is to regard them as due to want of personal knowledge ; but even on this theory we can see no particular reason why Xenophon's treatment of events should be so uneven. For events occurring almost simultaneously at Athens, on the Hellespont, in Ionia, and elsewhere are related in one place with unaccountable fulness, in another with unaccountable brevity ; and no known incidents of his life at all explain the difference.

Everything, therefore, would seem to point to Breitenbach's conclusion, hesitating though it is, being the true one, that bks. i., ii. are an attempt to complete the work of Thucydides, on the model of which they are manifestly planned, but are themselves for some reasons, which there is not evidence enough fully to explain, left unfinished ; and that this want of finish is apparent both in the defective compilation of the materials, in which so much has been shown to be wanting ; in the unequal treatment of the several parts, some of which seem to be only provisionally introduced ; and in the obvious imperfection of the chronological arrangement, which falls so far short of Thucydides' system.

None the less it remains true, that Xenophon is far the best and most reliable authority for the last six and a-half years of the Peloponnesian War, and for the following usurpation of the Thirty. The orators Andocides, Isocrates, and Lysias, and the historians Diodorus and Plutarch, when they deal with the same events, can be used only to supplement, not to correct, Xenophon's narrative. Andocides and Isocrates indeed agree with Xenophon in all essentials, except that the latter always tends to exalt the character of Alcibiades, while Lysias was too violent a partisan of the democracy, and too much implicated in the events of the time for his authority to be preferred above that of Xenophon—e.g. in the picture he draws of Theramenes.

Diodorus seems to have followed Theopompus for his history of the years 411-404, and Ephorus for that of the years 404-403. Hence so long as he follows the former, who, having been exiled from Chios for his support of Sparta, was a violent oligarch and philo-Laconian, his narrative is intensely hostile to the Athenian democracy. Only in the bare facts is there any agreement between him and Xenophon, and even in these there are most extraordinary discrepancies, many of them owing to Diodorus' own carelessness in matters of chronology, which is so great that he often mixes up the events of different years¹. At Athens Alcibiades and Theramenes are his heroes, and are painted in the brightest colours. Every incident tending to glorify Sparta and the Spartan constitution is exaggerated. Every incident to the contrary is carefully softened down or altogether suppressed. Ephorus, on the other hand, was an impartial and truth-loving historian, and appears himself to have made considerable use of Xenophon's writings; and so with the change of the authority there is an evident change in the tone of Diodorus' narratives.

Plutarch, in his *Lives of Alcibiades and Lysander*, seems to have used both Ephorus and Theopompus, the former by preference. But his purpose being biographical, he aims rather to bring out the personal characteristics of his heroes by introducing striking stories and anecdotes than to give a consecutive account of a series of events. Still his two biographies are often useful for filling up some of the worst gaps in Xenophon's narrative: though wherever they differ in their accounts of the same events, Xenophon is always to be preferred.

If, therefore, it is in contrast with Thucydides' unequalled history of the first twenty and a-half years of the Peloponnesian War, that Xenophon's account of its conclusion in *Hellenics* i., ii. appears so meagre and unsatisfactory, it is in contrast with Diodorus and Plutarch that we are led to appreciate his merits. The later historian cares for history not for its own sake, but as an 'opus oratorium' in which he can display his own surprising talents. The biographer, however charming and artistic the result, evidently uses the facts of history only 'to point a moral and adorn a tale.' Xenophon alone by his simple and unvar-

¹ For an exhaustive comparison of Xenophon and Diodorus' chronology cf. Sievers, *Xen. Hellenica*.

nished style, by his evident impartiality and love of truth, even too by the very defects, which, however they may mar and disfigure his narrative, yet by their wholly fortuitous and unaccountable occurrence, tend rather to confirm its truth—leaves upon the mind of his reader the impression that his history, so far as it goes, is a history of facts.

§ 2. XENOPHON'S CHRONOLOGY.

CORRECT CHRONOLOGY.

B.C.	<i>Olym.</i>	<i>Year of War.</i>	<i>Archon.</i>	<i>Ephor.</i>
411	92.2	21st	Theopompus	Misgolaïdas
410	92.3	22nd	Glaucippus	Isias
409	92.4	23rd	Diocles	Aracus
408	93.1	24th	Euctemon	Evarchippus
407	93.2	25th	Antigenes	Pantacles
406	93.3	26th	Callias	Pityas
405	93.4	27th	Alexias	Archytas
404	94.1	28th	Pythodorus	Endius

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HELLENICA.

B.C.	<i>Olym.</i>	<i>Year of War.</i>	<i>Archon.</i>	<i>Ephor.</i>
411	93	23rd	Euctemon Antigenes	Evarchippus Pantacles
410				
409				
408				
407		25th 26th	Callias Alexias Pythodorus	Pityas Archytas Endius
406				
405				
404				

In the first two books of the *Hellenica* we find that not only is the beginning of each year of the war marked by such phrases as τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει, τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους, ἀρχομένου ἔαρος¹, (where Xenophon is evidently following the system of Thucydides²), but in several passages additional accuracy is apparently given by the mention of Olympiads, the year of the war, or the names of the eponymous archons and ephors, and also by the notice of contemporary events in Persia and Sicily³. But by all recent commentators such passages have been suspected, and in most cases with justice, to be interpolations.

It is true that both Herodotus and Thucydides occasionally give the names of Olympic victors: but Herodotus sometimes simply styles a man Ὀλυμπιονίκης⁴ as a general mark of distinction without specifying any particular victory, and sometimes relates the victories, whether in the chariot race⁵, pentathlon⁶, or pancratium⁷, as incidents in the lives of eminent men like Miltiades the Athenian or Demaratus the Spartan; but in no case does he use an Olympiad to fix a date. Thucydides once⁸ like Herodotus uses the epithet Ὀλυμπιονίκης as the mark of a distinguished man: twice⁹ however he gives the name of the victor to help fix the date, in the first instance not specifying the contest, in the second taking the name of the victor in the pancratium; but in both instances the celebration of the Olympic festival has an intimate connection with his general history of the war, and is not introduced merely as a chronological datum. Moreover, Polybius¹⁰ expressly states that Timaeus, the Sicilian historian, (flor. 264 B.C.) was the first to use the Olympiad as a chronological era, for which, however, the list of the victors in the less famous stadium or foot-race was chosen. Nevertheless, in i. 2. 1 the 23rd year of the war is called the 93rd Olympiad (really it was the third year of the 92nd): and in ii. 3. 1 the Olympiad is denoted by the name of the victor in the stadium.

¹ i. 2. 1; 3. 1; 4. 2; 6. 1; ii. 1. 10; 3. 1.

² v. 20.

³ i. 1. 37; 2. 19; 5. 21; ii. 2. 24.

⁴ v. 47, 71.

⁵ vi. 36, 70; ix. 103, 125.

⁶ vi. 92; ix. 75.

⁷ ix. 105.

⁸ i. 126.

⁹ iii. 8; v. 49; cf. 50.

¹⁰ xii. 12.

Again, Herodotus ¹ once mentions the name of the eponymous archon at Athens to fix the date of one particular event, the invasion of Attica by the Persians ; and Thucydides ² sometimes gives the archon, ephor, and even the priestess of the Argive Hera, to mark some unusual occurrence ; but neither of them ever use these official lists to distinguish successive years. Further, in two passages the names given in the text of the Hellenica are incorrect : for in ii. 3. 9, 10, a continuous list of twenty-nine ephors appears (probably inserted by a later hand), in which Pantacles immediately precedes Pityas, whereas Xenophon makes two whole years, if not three, elapse between i. 3. 1 and i. 6. 1, where Pantacles and Pityas are respectively mentioned, to mark the beginning of the years ³ ; and exactly the same mistake is made with the archons. Evidently therefore the interpolator must have had before him complete lists of the ephors and archons, must have known the right names for the year 404, and then reckoned backwards from that year, but unfortunately overlooked the beginning of a new year in i. 4. 2, where no magistrates are mentioned, and also of the year the beginning of which Xenophon has omitted to mark at all. Of this however more below.

In three passages ⁴ the numbers of the years of the Peloponnesian War occur. In the first the number 22 is right, and evidently depends on a comparison with Thuc. viii. 60, 109. The interpolator here, however, noticed the ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔαρος of i. 4. 2, though in that passage he did not insert the year of the war ; so that, when Xenophon again resumes in i. 6. 1 with a τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, he says that twenty-four years of warfare were now over. Really, however, the Peloponnesian War had continued for twenty-five years ; and the interpolator was betrayed into this mistake, because Xenophon narrates the events of one year (407-406) ⁵ without marking its beginning at all. So again in the third passage, instead of twenty-five years, it should be twenty-six. Thus the interpolator makes the war down to the surrender of Athens in the spring of 404 last only twenty-six

¹ viii. 51.

³ Cf. i. 4. 12.

⁵ Cf. note on i. 5. 11.

² ii. 1 ; v. 19.

⁴ i. 3. 1 ; 6. 1 ; ii. 1. 7.

years, whereas Thucydides¹ distinctly states that it lasted almost exactly twenty-seven years, April 431 to April 404².

As for the notices of Persian and Sicilian history, though it is certain that the chronology of the Hellenica does not at all agree with that in Diodorus Siculus, yet, as that author in well-known cases is so exceedingly inexact in his dates, this disagreement does not amount to much of an argument against them. The passages on Sicilian history, however, seem to be inconsistent with each other. For in i. 1. 37 Hannibal is said in 411 B.C. to have captured the cities of Selinus and Himera; whereas in i. 2. 8, 10, 12 some Selinuntine ships are still found in 410 in the Aegean, acting as Peloponnesian allies, although Diodorus specially states³ that they were recalled to Sicily before the capture of the city. Again, the capture of Acragas is related twice over, once as happening in the year 407, and the second time as happening in 405. Diodorus puts it in the year 406. There is a similar inconsistency in one of the two references to Persian history. For in ii. 1. 8, 9 an event is assigned to the year 406, which it appears from Diodorus could only have happened in the year 405. The other reference, i. 2. 19, states a mere fact, which there is no means of confirming or denying. Inaccuracies of this kind, however, in a work left in so unfinished a state as bks. i. ii. of the Hellenica, hardly constitute a sufficient reason for bracketing them as spurious, especially when it is remembered that it was the custom of Thucydides, on whose system these books are evidently modelled, to insert at the end of each six months of his narrative such events as owing e.g. to their occurring in a different scene of the war, he could not weave into the main thread of his history.

We are left, therefore, for our genuine chronological data, only with the phrases τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους κ.τ.λ. which serve to mark the beginnings of the successive years of the war, supplemented occasionally by additional marks of time like ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος, χειμῶν ἐπῆει κ.τ.λ.; and here we are met by a fresh difficulty. For Xenophon continues Thucydides from the point where he breaks off in his narrative of the 21st year of the war

¹ v. 20, 26.

² For the list of ephors in ii. 3. 9, 10, cf. note ad loc.

³ xiii. 61.

in 411 B.C. Since the war ended in May 404, there ought to be seven such notices of the beginning of a new year : as a matter of fact, Xenophon gives only six ; somewhere or other therefore he has left one out, and the question arises, at what point?

Dodwell, Schneider, and Weiske would begin a new year at i. 1. 11. But the events that Xenophon narrates between §§ 11 and 37 are all closely connected with each other, as well as by definite marks of time (cf. § 27 *εἰ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ*, § 32 *κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον*), and cannot well be spaced over a whole year. Herbst and others put the beginning of 407 B.C. at i. 4. 8, but in that case it is hard to discover what were the movements of Alcibiades between the capture of Byzantium in 409 B.C. (cf. i. 3. 21) and his arrival at Samos (i. 4. 8) in 407, and how he could have ventured to return to Athens, if he had known of the intrigues between Cyrus and Lysander, which began in 408 B.C., and which they took such careful measures to conceal (i. 4. 1-8).

It is better, therefore, with Breitenbach¹, to suppose the omission to occur at i. 5. 11. For in i. 4. 21-23 Xenophon has brought down his narrative of Alcibiades' doings in the winter of 408-407 to his operations round Samos as his headquarters, which may very well have lasted till March or April 407. And in i. 5. 1-10 he tells us how Lysander, with the assistance of Cyrus, was occupied in collecting and fitting out a new Peloponnesian fleet, for which the winter months would be specially appropriate. Then having brought down his narrative of the movements on either side to the same point of time, he resumes at § 11 his account of their mutual operations against each other, which would naturally show fresh activity at the beginning of spring.

No sooner has Xenophon concluded the history of the Peloponnesian War with the story of the surrender of Athens, than he abandons Thucydides' system of chronology altogether. He does indeed mark the beginning of the year 404-403 with a *τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει*², but we are left to gather the respective times of the next year and a-half's events from the accidental mention of an eclipse (ii. 3. 4), of the end of summer (ii. 3. 9), of snow (ii. 4. 3), of the eight months' duration of the rule of the Thirty (ii. 3. 21),

¹ Jahrbuch f. Phil. und Päd. 1872.

² ii. 3. 1.

and of ripe fruit (ii. 4. 25). In fact, in this section of the book, Xenophon begins the practice, which he consistently follows throughout the rest of the *Hellenica*, of grouping events together, not according to the times at which they happened, but according to their causal connection.

§ 3. INTERNAL HISTORY OF ATHENS, 411-403 B.C.

After the expulsion of the Four Hundred in the spring of ¹ July 411 B.C. the Athenian constitution became a modified democracy, which Thucydides ² declares to 410 B.C. have been the best government that the Athenians ever enjoyed within his memory. The two leading features were the abolition of all paid offices of whatever kind, and the limitation of the full citizenship to such Athenians as could furnish themselves with arms at their own expense. It was thus the nearest approach that we read of in Greek history to Aristotle's ideal *πολιτεία* ³, or model democracy, being based chiefly on the middle class, and combining in itself the best elements of oligarchy and democracy.

But though this constitution had already received ⁴ the approval of Alcibiades, and the Assembly had actually passed a decree for his recall, the breach still remained open between the Athenians in the city and the Athenians on board the fleet. The latter could not have been less than 10,000 in number, and had just unmistakeably shown their democratical zeal in suppressing the simultaneous conspiracy of the oligarchical party in their midst ⁵: in fact, it was not until the return of Alcibiades three years later, in 408, that this breach was finally healed. Till then the city and the fleet were almost as much separated as two independent states; the city annually elected the usual number of ten generals; the fleet still retained at its head Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, Thrasyllus, and apparently the

¹ The Athenian year began with the 1st of Hecatombaeon (c. the middle of July), when the magistrates entered upon their offices.

² viii. 97.

³ Ar. Pol. iv. 8. 3.

⁴ Thuc. viii. 86, 97.

⁵ Thuc. viii. 75, 76.

other generals whom they had chosen at the time of the revolution¹. Theramenes and Thrasyllus alone acted as a sort of go-betweens: for the former, being sent out by the city in 411 to try to prevent the Boeotians and Euboeans from building a dam across the Euripus, and failing in that object, finally joined Alcibiades at the Hellespont, and did not return to Athens till three years afterwards: while the latter, after the victory at Abydos in the autumn of 411, was despatched to Athens for reinforcements.

When at last these two divisions of the Athenian people again united, the union was due on the one side to a return at Athens, more or less complete, to the old extreme form of democracy, and on the other to the extraordinary successes of the ναυτικὸς ὄχλος under the command of Alcibiades. It is these changes and their connection with each other that must now be traced.

At the same time that the Four Hundred had been deposed, Thucydides tells us², a board of Nomothetae had been appointed with the object, if we may argue from the analogous appointment after the suppression of the Thirty in 403³, of adapting the old Solonian laws to the new constitution. Four months were assigned them for their work. But it would appear that nothing was really done: for six years afterwards Nicomachus, one of their number and called ἀναγραφεὺς τῶν νόμων⁴, had not yet sent in an account of his office, and c. 399 B.C. he was accused of having taken bribes to illegally alter and otherwise tamper with the special laws assigned to him for revision⁵. Thus the new constitution was never really put upon a permanent legal footing, and party feeling, which had shown itself in the condemnation of the most extreme of the oligarchical leaders, like Antiphon and Archeptolemus, was still too much excited to allow things to remain long as they were. In the early autumn of 411 B.C.⁶ the Athenians at home had been greatly encouraged by the news of their partial success at Cynossema. In the winter the general Thrasyllus, who had been one of the democratical leaders at Samos, had arrived at Athens with the

¹ Thuc. viii. 76.

² viii. 97.

³ Cp. Andocides, Myst. § 83.

⁴ Lysias, xxx. §§ 2, 11, 28.

⁵ Cp. Lysias l. c.

⁶ Thuc. viii. 106.

tidings of a fresh victory at Abydos, and with a request for reinforcements for the fleet. And in the spring
 July 410 B.C. Alcibiades totally annihilated the
 409 B.C. Peloponnesian fleet under Mindarus at Cyzicus. The completeness of his victory was vividly confirmed by the despatch written by Hippocrates, Mindarus' secretary, to the Spartan government for immediate help, which was accidentally captured and brought to Athens.

Once more the democratical party became active and powerful. For when the Spartans¹, in dismay at their defeat, sent Endius at the head of an embassy to offer as terms of peace, that both parties should accept the status quo, that the Peloponnesians would withdraw their garrison from Decelea, if the Athenians would withdraw theirs from Pylos, and that an exchange of prisoners should be arranged, the Assembly, notwithstanding the efforts of the ἐπιεικέστατοι, voted their rejection on the motion of the demagogue Cleophon. 'The Athenians,' says Diodorus, 'excited by their recent good fortune, thought that with their forces under the leadership of Alcibiades they would soon recover their old supremacy.'

Nor were their hopes entirely unfounded; for the victory at Cyzicus meant much more than the annihilation of the Peloponnesian fleet. It meant relief from the financial distress, which had prevailed at Athens ever since the Sicilian disaster, and more especially since the loss of Euboea. For immediately after the battle Alcibiades set up a custom house on the Bosphorus to exact toll from all passing ships; once again some of the Hellespontine and Thracian cities began to pay tribute; and once again the corn ships sailed as of old into Piræus². Money had been the basis of the Periclean democracy, and now money opened the way for a return to it. The fleet at the Hellespont maintained itself by marauding expeditions, and cost the home government nothing. Thus the President of the Treasury for the year was able to devote as much as twenty-three talents towards the expenses of certain sacrifices and festivals and of the διωβελία³, or Theoric fund, which was distributed among the poorer citizens to enable them to attend the theatre and shows, and which seems to have been the first of the

¹ Diod. xiii. 52, 53.

² i. 1. 35.

³ C. I. A. i. 188.

distributions of public money to be restored. As the revenue continued to improve, the old system of payment for all offices little by little came once more into force, though the several dates of its reinstitution cannot be ascertained. Aristophanes in the *Frogs*¹, which was exhibited in 405 B.C., complains of the huge sums swallowed up by the *δικαστικὸς μισθός*, showing that by that time the change was complete.

There is equal difficulty in tracing the steps, whereby the restrictions on citizenship imposed after the dissolution of the Four Hundred, were gradually removed. Payment for public services evidently meant the readmission of the poorer citizens to the full discharge of all civic duties. But the means whereby this was brought about are unknown. All we can say is that Xenophon describes the Athenians as meeting for the trial of the generals after Arginusae in 406 B.C., *πάντας κατὰ φυλάς*, as if by that time none were excluded from the Assembly.

One constitutional change can however be referred with certainty to this year on the authority of the historian Philochorus². The Senators, like the dicasts, henceforward were to sit in ten divisions denoted by the first ten letters of the alphabet. The reason of this measure is not stated, but in all probability it was directed against the members of the oligarchical clubs³, who were wont to sit together, and thus by their united action to acquire an influence totally disproportionate to their numbers⁴. Gilbert⁵ has ingeniously conjectured, that these democratical changes were carried through by a board of *συγγραφεῖς*, on the ground that Demophantus, the proposer of a decree of which more will be said hereafter, *συνέγραψεν*, and not, as usual, *εἶπεν*; and that an inscription⁶ of this year mentions *συγγραφεῖς*, though it does not explain the nature of their office; and further that on the analogy of Thucydides (viii. 67), when Pisander proposed to appoint ten *ἑταίρους αὐτοκράτορες* and of Xenophon (Hell. ii. 3. 2), when the Thirty were chosen, *οἱ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους*

¹ 141 sq., 1466 sq.

² Müller, *Fragm.* i. 403.

³ Cp. Thuc. viii. 66, esp. vi. 13.

⁴ A practice set on foot by Thucydides, son of Melesias; see Plut. Pericles c. 11.

⁵ *Beitr. z. Inn. Gesch. Athens*, p. 341 sqq.

⁶ C. I. A. i. 58.

συγγράψουσι, it may very well be argued that they were extraordinary magistrates chosen to draw up a new constitution, and this time in a democratical direction.

Two documents of this year illustrate still farther the growing power of the democrats. The first is the above-mentioned Psephism of Demophantus, preserved in Andocides' speech on the Mysteries¹, which decreed that all Athenians, both in the city and in the fleet, should swear to hold as a public enemy, who might lawfully be put to death, any one who should attempt to overthrow the democracy, or who should hold any office after the democracy had been overthrown. This oath was to be taken just before the Great Dionysia in the spring of 409 B. C. and finds its parallel in the oath sworn to by the Athenian democrats at Samos in 411 B. C.² The second is a psephism proposed by Erasinides³, who was afterwards one of the generals at the battle of Arginusæ, that Thrasybulus⁴, one of the assassins of the oligarch Phrynichus, should be rewarded with a golden crown and the gift of citizenship, and that a proclamation to that effect should be made at the same Dionysia. Moreover at the same time the prosecutions against those implicated in the conspiracy of the Four Hundred, which had been suffered to lapse after the punishment of the worst offenders, seem to have been revived, and to have gone on with more or less vigour until the Amnesty of Patroclides in 405 B. C. Not only were individuals attacked, but whole classes, like the soldiers who had supported the Four Hundred, were punished with partial disfranchisement⁵, so that e.g. it was made unlawful for them to speak in the Assembly, or to become members of the Senate. Lysias⁶ says, that it was these prosecutions that ruined the democracy; for that numerous sycophants accused innocent persons for the sake of their wealth, while they left the guilty untouched, if only they were sufficiently bribed.

Meanwhile Alcibiades had pursued a career of unbroken

¹ Andoc. Myst. § 96 sqq. Gilbert, *Gesch. Ath.*, p. 344, proves against Droysen and Herbert that this decree belongs to the period after the Dissolution of the Four Hundred, and not to that after the expulsion of the Thirty. Cp. Grote, vii. 321.

² Thuc. viii. 75.

³ C. I. A. i. 59.

⁴ Cf. Thuc. viii. 92.

⁵ Andoc. Myst. § 75 sq.

⁶ Or. xxv. 14, 15.

success on the Hellespont and Bosphorus. In the summer of 410 he had been joined by Thrasyllus at the Hellespont with a considerable reinforcement from Athens, and the two generals combined to defeat the satrap Pharnabazus, first at Abydos, and then at Chalcedon, after which he was reduced to come to terms and to submit to see Chalcedon once more pay tribute to Athens. These successes were **July 409** quickly followed by the capture of Selybria and **B.C. to June** Byzantium. On the other side the Athenians **408 B.C.** had indeed to set the loss of Pylos in Messenia, and of Nisaea, the port of Megara—losses serious in themselves, but with little effect upon the revenue. Anytus, the demagogue, who had been despatched to relieve the former place was, on his return, accused of treachery, and only escaped, it was said, by bribing his judges¹. In the autumn of 409 B.C., therefore, Athens had regained the whole of the Thracian and Hellespontine provinces of her old empire, besides many of the islands in the northern Aegean. The Peloponnesian fleet had been annihilated. Pharnabazus, who had so long and so ably supported the Spartan cause, had been forced to consent to an armistice, and to promise a safe escort for an Athenian embassy to the Persian King. And all this had been mainly due to the courage and capacity of a single man, and him an exile; for Alcibiades had never availed himself of the permission to return home granted him in 411 B.C.² So far indeed he had acted almost as a sovereign prince. Much still however remained to be done: Euboea and most of Ionia were still in open revolt. Before attempting their reconquest, Alcibiades seems now to have felt that a return to Athens was necessary for him, if ever there was to be a complete reunion between the city and the army. In the spring of 408, therefore, he sailed with all his ships to Samos: thence he despatched his friends and colleagues Thrasyllus and Theramenes to Piraeus with all the spoils of war and captured vessels to prepare the way for his reception, while he himself sailed with the remainder of the fleet to Caria, to collect still more money. The Athenians at home were by this time just as ready on their side to welcome him, and even before the arrival of Thrasyllus and Theramenes

¹ Diod. xiii. 64, 65.² Thuc. viii. 97.

had chosen among the generals for the following year, Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, and Conon. The news of his election reached Alcibiades at Gythium in Laconia, whither he had sailed from Caria, and he at once set out for Piraeus, which he entered on the day of the Plynteria (June), when the shrine of the goddess Athena was covered with a veil. Arrived in the harbour, even now he hesitated to land, so suspicious was he of the real feelings of the people towards him; and it was not until he had seen Euryptolemus and other relatives among the crowd that had assembled to meet him, that he ventured to set foot on shore. Then his partizans closed round him so as to form a sort of body-guard, and escorted him in their midst in triumphal procession from Piraeus to Athens.

In the city opinion was still much divided¹: some said, that he had been the victim of the intrigues of his enemies, who had plotted against him and procured his exile in order to make room for their own ambitious schemes; others maintained that he had been the real cause of all the Athenian misfortunes in the past, and would be just as dangerous in the future.

But for the moment Alcibiades, with his marvellous personality, carried all before him. The effect of his speeches in his own defence before the senate and assembly², was such that none dared raise a voice against him. It was at once decreed, that the column set up to record his condemnation in 415 B.C. should be cast into the sea, that his goods should be restored to him, and that the curse which the Eumolpidae had pronounced

July 408 against him should be recalled. He himself was B.C. to June proclaimed στρατηγὸς ἀντοκράτωρ by sea and land, 407 B.C. as the only man able to restore Athens to her former power. The rich hoped to find in him a strong opponent to the ever-increasing encroachments of the extreme democrats. The poor saw in him a champion, who would relieve them of their poverty, and whom they would be glad to support, even though he should assume to himself the rights of sovereign power and make himself tyrant of Athens³. For the moment his enemies were silenced, although they continued, as events soon showed, as active as ever in their intrigues against him.

¹ i. 4. 13-17.

² Diod. xiii. 69.

³ Plut. Alc. 35; Diod. xiii. 69.

The demagogues seem to have been especially bitter, so completely were they overshadowed in the eyes of the people by their new rival for popular favour.

It was ominous too that Theodorus the high priest, in removing the old curse had said, that for his part he had never denounced any curse against him, if he had done no injury to the commonwealth: while many of the pious and superstitious noted with foreboding, that Alcibiades had landed on the Plynteria, the unluckiest day in the whole year.

Meanwhile Alcibiades was occupied in fitting out a new fleet of 100 vessels, with the money that he had himself brought into the treasury. He chose Adimantus and Aristocrates, apparently out of the already elected generals for the year, to be his colleagues in the command¹. But before he sailed, hoping once for all to quiet the religious fears of the Athenians, as well as to assure them of his military prowess, he escorted with all his forces the annual procession along the Sacred Way to Eleusis, which ever since the fortification of Decelea by the Peloponnesians, had been obliged to go by sea, King Agis now venturing to offer no opposition.

At last in October all was ready for his departure, for which none were more eager than his enemies; some, according to Plutarch, because they feared that he would soon make himself tyrant; others, we may certainly suppose, because they wanted a clear field left them in which to prosecute their own schemes.

But during the four months that Alcibiades had stayed in Athens, an entire change had come over the aspect of affairs in Asia. The able and energetic Lysander had succeeded the incapable Cratesippidas as admiral of the Spartan fleet; and Cyrus, the younger son of King Darius, had taken the place of the vacillating Tissaphernes as Satrap of Sardis, and had announced his intention of supporting the Peloponnesians with money and by all means in his power, even persuading Pharnabazus, notwithstanding his solemn promises, to hinder the Athenian envoys from proceeding to the Persain coast².

Events soon proved the wisdom of Alcibiades' enemies in hastening his departure. His attack on the little island of Andros was only partially successful. Arrived at Samos, he

¹ Xen. Hell. i. 4. 22; Diod. xiii. 69.

² i. 4. 7.

tried in vain to draw Lysander out of the harbour at Ephesus to a general engagement. His overtures to Cyrus through the mouthpiece of Tissaphernes were rejected with scorn. Money and supplies soon ran short, and he was obliged to scour the neighbouring coasts on marauding expeditions, making in his requisitions, it would seem, but little distinction between friend and foe. To crown all, his lieutenant Antiochus, in defiance of his strict orders, ventured on a general engagement during his absence at Phocaea, and suffered a defeat at Notium; and do what he could, Alcibiades could not induce Lysander to give him an opportunity for revenge. Disappointed in their unreasonable expectations of a speedy conquest of Chios and even of all Ionia, the Athenians both at home and on board the fleet were now as vehement in their denunciations of Alcibiades as but shortly before they had been in his praises. All complaints against his conduct were eagerly listened to; and when Thrasybulus, the son of Thrason, (not to be confused with the more famous Thrasybulus, the general), returned from the camp to Athens¹, and accused him of maladministration, of treasonable intrigues with Persia and the Peloponnesians, and of building forts of his own, like a sovereign prince, in Thrace², the people at once suspended Alcibiades from his command, ordered his colleague Conon to take his place, and in the annual elections, which happened to occur just at the same time, chose ten new generals, among whom Alcibiades was no longer one³. Alcibiades himself, finding that he was equally unpopular with his own troops, did not wait to hear the result of the accusations against him at home, but retired to his forts in the Thracian Chersonese.

At this juncture democrats of all shades seem to have combined to support the constitution, if we may judge
July 407 B.C. to June 406 B.C. from the list of the new generals: for among them Thrasyllus, Leon, and Diomedon had all taken a prominent part in the counter movement against

¹ Gilbert refers a statement of Himerius (ap. Phot. Bibl. 377) to this affair: *Κλεοφῶν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐγράφετο*, and sees in it a formal *γραφὴ προδοσίας*. Cobet refers it to the year 415 B.C.

² Diod. xiii. 73; Plut. Alc. 36.

³ Plut. Lys. v; Nep. Alc. 7; Just. v. 5. 4; Lysias xiv. 38.

the oligarchs at Samos, in 411 B.C.¹; Erasinides² had proposed the decree to crown the assassin of Phrynichus the oligarch; Pericles was the son of the great Pericles and Aspasia; while Conon seems rather to have succeeded Nicias in the leadership of the more moderate party. The year was one of great financial distress, due to the difficulty of maintaining Conon's large fleet of 100 vessels, and to the Peloponnesians under the admiral Callicratidas once more taking the offensive by sea, and so cutting off the sources of Athenian revenue. To meet the deficiency all the gold in the Acropolis was coined into money³. Still, when the news reached Athens that Conon with all his fleet was blockaded at Mitylene, within thirty days the Athenians fitted out a fleet of 110 vessels, making all the inhabitants of Attica, rich and poor, slave and free, serve alike on board. About July, 406, the two fleets met off the islands of Arginusae, and the Athenians under the command of eight of their ten generals gained a complete victory over the Peloponnesians, Callicratidas himself perishing in the fight. In the ordinary course of things such a victory would have sufficed to insure for some time the political power of the successful generals. But unfortunately in the moment of victory the generals had neglected both to rescue the survivors clinging to the wrecks of the vessels, which had been disabled in the battle, and to bury the corpses of the dead. The news of this neglect excited great indignation among the Athenians at home. July 406
A summons was immediately issued for their B.C. to June recall. Thereupon two of their number retired 405 B.C.
into voluntary exile: the remaining six returned to Athens, were hastily condemned almost without any form of trial, and all alike executed.

Although there seems to be no evidence for supposing the condemnation of the generals to have been due to an oligarchical conspiracy, its effect, no doubt, was to produce chaos once more among the political parties at Athens. Little indeed can be inferred from the list of the new generals, as they must have been elected just before the battle of Arginusae, which was apparently fought in June, while the trial cannot have taken

¹ Thuc. viii. 73.² C. I. A. i. 59.³ Arist. Frogs 720; Philoch. Frag. 120.

place till November. The democrats at any rate still clung to their old war policy; and Cleophon was again successful in procuring the rejection of a peace, which the Lacedaemonians offered about this time on the same terms as before¹—a fact which shows that the power of the demagogues was still as great as ever. Many, on the other hand, began to repent of their recent dismissal of Alcibiades, and even to advocate his immediate recall². The financial distress was greater than ever, and to meet it an extraordinary board of magistrates, called *Poristae*³, seems to have been appointed to consider ways and means. The fleet at Samos, paralyzed by the proceedings taken against its late generals at Athens, never followed up the results of its victory, though now commanded by the skilful Conon; and was soon unable to support itself by marauding expeditions, being entirely occupied in watching the movements of the enemy's fleet. For the Peloponnesians, after their disaster, had procured from the Spartan government the restoration of Lysander to the command; and he in the spring of 405 had completely restored its efficiency, being backed up, as before, by Persian gold.

It was probably about this time that the Athenians began to repent of their harsh treatment of the generals, who had won for them the victory of Arginusae: for in the spring elections Theramenes, who had taken the leading part in the prosecution, was rejected on the *δοκιμασία* after he had been actually chosen general, because he did not seem to be *εὖνους τῷ πλῆθει*⁴; and at the same time complaints seem to have been brought before the assembly against those individuals, especially Callixenus, who had deceived the people in the trial. The assembly listened favourably to the complaints, and decreed that the persons accused should be bound over to stand their trial, but amid the internal confusions of the following year they all escaped. It is remarkable that Theramenes was not included in the accusation.

¹ Aristotle apud Schol. on Arist. Frogs 1532. Grote, viii. 1, throws doubt on this embassy.

² Arist. Frogs 1500 seqq.

³ Arist. Frogs. 1505, cf. Gilbert. Gesch. Athens, p. 387.

⁴ Lysias xiii. 13.

Probably just about the time that the newly elected generals entered upon their office, of whom only Strom- July 405
bichides, Dionysodorus, and Calliades are known B.C. to June
by name, all three being stout democrats, the 404 B.C.
tidings of the annihilation of the fleet at Aegospotami must have reached Athens¹. The citizens were at first stunned by the news, reflecting that at last the misery that they had inflicted on less powerful states, was about to return on their own heads². But next day the assembly met and resolved to block up two of the three harbours at Piraeus, and to prepare the city for a siege. Really little could be done: for the Athenians had no fleet, and the corn supply was entirely cut off now that the Hellespont, as well as Euboea, was lost, and the Peloponnesians still harried the country from Decelea. Five months, however, passed before the appearance of the dreaded Peloponnesian fleet. Lysander was employed in the interval in receiving the submission of the Athenian allies, and in sending all the Athenian citizens and cleruchs, whom he captured, back to Athens in order to increase the number of mouths to be fed on the ever diminishing supply of corn. At last in November he appeared and blockaded Piraeus at the same time, that the two Spartan kings Agis and Pausanias advanced with the entire Peloponnesian forces close up to the city walls. Within the city, as a last despairing measure, the democrats carried a proposal made by Patroclides to grant an amnesty to all disfranchised citizens, more especially those who had suffered partial disfranchisement for the part they had taken in the Revolution of the Four Hundred³. The oligarchs, who saw that their day of power would soon and certainly come with the surrender of the city, seem at the time to have remained quiet. But the forces that the Athenians could muster, even with the citizens all thus united, were so obviously incapable of offering a successful resistance, that so early as December, when the corn supply had completely failed, envoys were sent to Agis with offers of peace on condition that the Athenians became allies of the

¹ Mommsen (*Chronologie*) dates it in the month Scirophorion (June to July).

² ii. 2. 3.

³ Andoc. *Myst.* § 73 seqq.

Lacedaemonians, and retained Piraeus and the Long Walls. Agis referred the envoys to the Ephors at Sparta, who alone, he said, had powers to conclude a treaty. But when they reached Sellasia on the Lacedaemonian frontier, the Ephors, on hearing the terms they had to offer, sent them back with an injunction not to return until the Athenians had come to a better decision. It appears however from the sequel of Xenophon's narrative¹, that they were at the same time informed, that a peace might be concluded if the Athenians would consent to the demolition of ten stadia of their Long Walls. For, when on their return the envoys announced before the Senate the result of their mission, Archestratus was arrested for proposing submission to this condition, and at the same time Cleophon carried a decree in the Assembly forbidding any such proposal for the future on pain of death².

At this crisis Theramenes came forward and promised, that if the people would send him to Lysander, he would at least procure certain information as to whether in requiring the demolition of the Long Walls the Lacedaemonians meant the utter enslavement of Athens, or only a guarantee of Athenian good faith. Theramenes was accordingly despatched, but instead of returning at once with the necessary information, he stayed with Lysander for more than three months, waiting for the moment when the Athenians would be compelled by famine to accept any terms whatsoever. In the fourth month he returned, saying that he had been detained by Lysander, who had at last advised him to apply to the Ephors, as they alone had power to conclude a peace. Meantime Cleophon had been put to death on a false charge of failure in his military duties³, brought against him by the oligarchical conspirators, who were once again secretly active: and now hunger silenced all further opposition. Theramenes therefore and nine others were chosen to go to Sparta as ambassadors with full powers. At Sellasia the ten new ambassadors were again stopped by the Ephors; but when they said that they were invested with full powers, they were invited to attend a conference of the Peloponnesian confederates at Sparta, which had been summoned to consider

¹ ii. 2. 14, 15.

² Lysias xiii. 8; Aeschin. F. L. 76.

³ Lysias xiii. 15; cf. Xen. ii. 7. 35.

the fate of Athens. Here the Thebans and Corinthians advocated the total extirpation of the Athenian name; but the Lacedaemonians, guided, it would appear¹, rather by motives of self-interest than the patriotic sentiments, which they openly professed, refused to allow a city, which had wrought so much for Greek freedom in the past, to be wiped out of the map of Greece, and decided to offer terms, far harder indeed than those offered four months earlier, but reasonable under the circumstances. The terms were to be that the Athenians should demolish their Long Walls and their arsenal at Piraeus, that they should resign all their foreign possessions, and confine themselves to their Attic territory, that they should readmit all their exiles, and become the allies of Sparta, recognizing the same friends and enemies and following her leadership by land and sea. The number of ships, which they were to be allowed to keep, was left to the discretion of Lysander².

The day after their return to Athens, Theramenes, as spokesman of the ambassadors, recited the Lacedaemonian conditions, and proposed their acceptance. Even now a few, headed by Cleomenes, one of the younger demagogues, raised some opposition, but the prevailing distress was too great for any farther delay³. The peace was accepted, and on the 16th of Munychion (c. April) Lysander, coming from Samos, sailed into Piraeus along with many of the Athenian exiles. All the ships left in the dockyards were handed over to him, save twelve, which he permitted the Athenians to retain. Then his troops occupied the fortifications, and began the destruction of Piraeus and the Long Walls.

Thus ended the Peloponnesian War almost exactly twenty-seven years after its first outbreak in April 431 B.C.

§ 4. THE TRIAL OF THE GENERALS AFTER ARGINUSÆ.

For this incident in Athenian history Xenophon, as being himself contemporary with the event, is undoubtedly the chief and the best authority. His account seems to be a simple and

¹ Cf. ii. 2. 20 with ii. 3. 41.

² ii. 2. 20, Diod. xiii. 107. Plut. Lys. 14.

³ Cf. Lysias xiii. 13.

impartial statement of the facts of the trial, and the points of obscurity are apparently due, not to any wilful perversions, but to omissions as to questions of fact and of law, which it is difficult to supplement from any other sources. Diodorus (flor. 15 B.C.) gives only a meagre narrative of the trial, based on Theopompus (flor. 333 B.C.), and evidently here, as in other passages, holds a brief in favour of Theramenes, though he condemns the treatment of the generals. Aristophanes' *Frogs*, exhibited in the year 405 B.C., shows us somewhat of the prevailing feeling at the time in Athens, and more especially as to the part played by Theramenes, which would seem to have incurred the general displeasure of the people. Plato (*Apology*, c. 32) and Xenophon (*Memorabilia*, i. 1. 18, iv. 4. 2) more fully describe the bold resistance offered by Socrates to the unconstitutional demands of the Assembly. It may therefore be gathered that the whole literary opinion of the day strongly disapproved the condemnation of the generals.

In his own narrative (i. 6) Xenophon gives a very brief summary of events. In the battle at Arginusae the Athenians, he tells us, lost twenty-five ships, crews and all, except a few survivors, who made their way to shore. The generals in command had ordered the trierarchs Theramenes and Thrasybulus and some of the taxiarchs, with forty-seven ships, to rescue those still clinging to the wrecks, while they themselves sailed to Mytilene against Eteonicus. But a great storm¹ arose and prevented the rescue, and also, it would seem, their own passage across to Mytilene. Euryptolemus, however, in the course of his speech² adds several details. Immediately

¹ Grote (vii. 430) points out that immediately after the battle the Peloponnesian despatch boat brought the news of Callicratidas' defeat to Eteonicus at Mytilene, apparently without any difficulty, although its course was N.W.; and that afterwards the storm was not sufficient to stop the same boat from sailing out of the harbour and in again once more, nor yet to prevent Eteonicus' fleet from sailing S.W. to Chios: in fact the wind was *οὐριος*, which means not 'fair,' but 'favourable': though it is true that Conon at the same time thought it more prudent to wait till the wind was *εὐδιαίρετος* before he started in pursuit. Probably therefore it blew a strong gale from the N. or N.E. Cf. Theramenes' speech (ii. 3. 35) and Diodorus (xiii. 100).

² i. 7. 17, 29.

after the battle, he says, the Athenian fleet returned to the Arginusae islands, and there the generals held a council of war. Diomedon wished to rescue the survivors on the wrecks, Erasinides to sail at once against the enemy : but Thrasyllus pointed out that both objects might be effected by leaving forty-seven ships under the command of the trierarchs Theramenes and Thrasybulus, and of other subordinate officers, to look after the twelve disabled vessels [thirteen of them must therefore have sunk in the interval, cf. 6. 34], while they themselves sailed with the rest of the fleet against Eteonicus at Mytilene. They accordingly tried, he adds, to sail (§ 31, *ἐπλεον*), but the storm prevented the rescue. Diodorus (xiii. 100) here makes an important addition : the sailors of the forty-seven ships refused to work *διὰ τε τὴν ἐκ τῆς μάχης κακοπάθειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κυμάτων*, the general result being that the men clinging to the sinking ships were left to perish.

Afterwards the generals met together to draw up a despatch to the Athenian senate and people¹. Six of them wished to mention in it the orders given to Theramenes and Thrasybulus ; but Pericles and Diomedon out of kindness to the trierarchs persuaded their colleagues to omit it. Accordingly in the despatch they merely wrote that the storm had prevented all rescue².

Xenophon³ goes on to relate that the Athenians at home, as soon as they heard the news, deprived all the generals of their command except Conon, and that they chose to be his colleagues Adimantus and Philocles. Diodorus states in addition that they summoned the generals home with all speed to stand their

¹ i. 7. 17.

² Diodorus (xiii. 101) gives quite a contradictory account of the despatch : he makes out that Theramenes and Thrasybulus had already returned to Athens before that the generals, suspicious that they might intrigue against them in the city, addressed a letter *πρὸς τὸν δῆμον* to explain that they had given orders to the trierarchs. Grote's attempt (vii. 429) to reconcile the two by supposing that Diodorus has confused a private letter addressed by the generals to their friends at Athens with the public despatch mentioned by Xenophon, is a mere subterfuge.

³ i. 7. 1 ; Diod. xiii. 101.

trial. Thereupon of the eight that had fought at Arginusae two, Protomachus and Aristogenes, retired into voluntary exile : the other six returned to Athens. Among the latter Erasinides was accused immediately on his arrival before a *δικαστήριον* probably on a *γραφὴ κλοπῆς δημοσίων χρημάτων* by Archedemus, who was at that time *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*, other charges being made at the same time against his generalship. The result of the trial was apparently that a fine was imposed upon him and imprisonment until he should pay it.

Afterwards the generals jointly made a statement before the Senate as to the battle and the severity of the storm, of which Xenophon unfortunately does not give the details. Possibly it may have been the same as the defence that they afterwards made before the Assembly, that they had indeed given orders to Theramenes and Thrasybulus to rescue the shipwrecked crews, but that the violence of the storm had rendered all rescue impossible. This hypothesis would account for Theramenes saying at the first meeting of the Assembly, that in their despatch they blamed no one but the storm, and some two years afterwards maintaining in his defence against the accusations of Critias¹, that the generals had begun to accuse him first, so that he had acted, as indeed Critias had asserted, only in self-defence. Such too seems to have been the prevailing opinion as to his conduct at the time, if we may believe Aristophanes²; and Diodorus' account leaves much the same impression. On the other hand it is almost as easy to suppose that Theramenes, being *in extremis*, devised this defence, which, such as it is, seems excessively lame, on the spur of the moment, and that Diodorus invented his account of the trial to justify this subsequent defence. But, however this may be, on Timocrates' proposal, the Senate resolved to arrest the generals, and bring them before the Assembly.

The question here arises, what particular form of judicial machinery was thus set in motion against the accused generals. It has been very generally assumed³, that the accusation was an *εἰσαγγελία* of the form which Harpocration (s. v.) defines to be applicable *ἐπὶ δημοσίοις ἀδικήμασι μεγίστοις καὶ ἀναβολὴν μὴ*

¹ ii. 3. 35.

² Cf. Frogs 533, 964.

³ Cf. Schömann, De Comit. Athen., p. 206.

ἐπιδεχομένοις, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς μήτε ἀρχὴ καθέστηκε μήτε νόμοι κεῖνται τοῖς ἀρχουσι καθ' οὓς εἰσάξουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἢ πρώτη κατάστασις γίγνεται. In this case the ordinary procedure was (1) for the Senate, if after the preliminary hearing the charge appeared to be beyond its own competence, to refer it either to a heliastic court or, if the charge were very extraordinary, to the Assembly. Then (2) the Assembly when it met might either itself consider, whether there was sufficient evidence against the accused for the charge to lie, or, if there could be no manner of doubt upon that point, simply to determine what should be the method of the trial. Now Xenophon's narrative does to a certain extent support this theory: for Euryptolemus in his speech (§ 33) entreats the people not to convict the generals of προδοσίαν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας, and it is well known that in cases of προδοσία the εἰσαγγελία was the ordinary form of procedure. Again in § 4 Theramenes maintains at the first meeting of the Assembly, that the generals δικαίους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχέιν: and in § 28¹ Euryptolemus urges the people not to deprive the accused of all opportunity of legal defence: so that both passages might be taken to imply, that at its first meeting the Assembly merely gave the case the usual preliminary hearing. On the other hand it must be remembered, that neither Xenophon nor Diodorus speak of the charge as an εἰσαγγελία, nor of the first meeting of the Assembly as summoned merely to consider the justifiability of the accusation; that all the precise information we possess about this particular kind of procedure is subsequent to the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός, the date of which is certainly not earlier than the archonship of Euclides 403 B. C.; and that in this particular case the proceedings were irregular throughout.

There is indeed an obvious reason why Timocrates should have proposed in the Senate that the generals should be brought before the Assembly rather than before an ordinary Heliastic court: for Theramenes and his party would evidently expect to be able to work with much more effect upon the feelings of the Assembly, made up, as it was at this time, of the old, the young, and the infirm (the large majority of the able-bodied

¹ Cf. §§ 5, 23.

citizens being still on board the fleet), than upon the feelings of a comparatively select body of sworn dicasts.

Accordingly at the first meeting of the Assembly Theramenes and his followers appeared as the most prominent accusers of the generals, maintaining, that if *any one* was to blame for the death of the shipwrecked crews, it was the generals themselves, who in their despatch had simply mentioned the *storm* as the cause. In reply the generals made only a short defence, as the legal time for speaking was not allowed them, relating how they had given orders to Theramenes, Thrasybulus, and other capable men to rescue the crews, while they themselves were sailing against the enemy; and repeating that really it was the storm which had prevented the rescue¹. Their defence was supported by the evidence of the pilots and sailors of the fleet; and short as it was, produced such a favourable impression, that many came forward to go bail for the generals, and it was quite evident that, had a vote been taken, it would have been in their favour. It was, however, too late in the evening for a show of hands to be seen; so that it was resolved that the case should be adjourned to a second meeting of the Assembly, and that meantime the Senate should prepare a *προβούλευμα*, as to the method by which the generals should be tried.

In the interval occurred the festival of the Apaturia, which the members of each family met to celebrate in common, and at which the youths, just come of age, were registered on the roll of their demes. This time many a place was seen to be vacant, and many a family appeared in mourning garb. Theramenes and his party, availing themselves of these natural feelings of grief to kindle great indignation against the generals, seem to have induced not only the kinsmen of the dead to attend the second meeting of the Assembly, but, at least according to Xenophon's narrative², to have gone so far as to suborn men to appear among the crowd of real mourners, clad in black garments and with shaved heads, just as if they had been kinsmen.

At the same time too, they persuaded Callixenus to accuse the

¹ This is a direct contradiction to Theramenes' statement in ii. 3. 35, that the generals had asserted *οἷόν τ' εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας*.

² Cf. note on § 8.

generals in the Senate, which met according to the decision of the Assembly, and at his instigation drew up a most monstrous *προβούλευμα*, that since the accusation and defence had been already heard at the previous Assembly (which of course was not true), at the next meeting the people should vote at once by tribes, without any further hearing of the case, upon all the generals collectively; that the votes should be given openly (i.e. not, as usual, by secret ballot); and that if the generals were found guilty, they themselves should be put to death and their goods should be confiscated. Thus in defiance of all Athenian legal procedure and traditions no real trial was to be granted to the generals at all, the voters were to be intimidated, and sentence was to be passed upon all the accused collectively instead of separately.

Accordingly at the next Assembly, Callixenus brought forward this *προβούλευμα*: and the general excitement thus produced was still further heightened by the declaration of a sailor, who had saved his own life by clinging to a meal-tub, that his drowning companions had bidden him, if he should escape, tell the people that the generals had left the most patriotic of the citizens to perish.

Hereupon Euryptolemus, who was cousin to Pericles, one of the accused generals, together with some others, threatened Callixenus with a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* for making so unconstitutional a proposal; but they were howled down by the people and forced to withdraw their threat, one Lyciscus even proposing that they should be included in the same vote as the generals, unless they gave way. Now, however, some of the Prytanes, who were presiding over the meeting, refused to put the question to the vote: but when Callixenus menaced them with the same treatment, they all withdrew their opposition except Socrates.

Foiled in this attempt to procure justice for the accused, Euryptolemus now came forward with an amendment to the *προβούλευμα*, or rather perhaps with an alternative proposal, in advocating which he was able to make a speech of considerable length in defence of the generals. In the course of it he stated and restated the facts of the case, and pointed out that two legal methods of procedure were open to the

people. Either the generals might be tried before the people¹ in accordance with the decree of Cannonus², which laid down certain most severe penalties against such persons as had injured the commonwealth: or they might be tried before a Heliastic court under the law against sacrilege and treason. But whichever of these two methods the people preferred, they ought to be tried *separately*, fair time being allowed for the accusation, defence, and taking of the votes. In conclusion therefore, Euryptolemus formally moved that the former of these two methods should be adopted, namely, that the accused should be separately tried according to the decree of Cannonus.

When the two proposals were put to the vote, the people preferred that of Euryptolemus: but ὑπομοσασμένου Μενεκλέους a second vote was taken, at which the Senate's proposal was adopted. Afterwards the eight generals were condemned to death, the votes being taken presumably on the method laid down in the προβούλευμα, and the six of them, who had returned to Athens, were immediately executed.

¹ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ. Grote seems to be mistaken in laying so much emphasis on the fact that the people in the ἐκκλησία were not put on oath: for this passage alone, where Euryptolemus is emphasizing the proper legal procedure, would be sufficient to show that the Assembly had full competence to try such cases itself without referring them to a Heliastic court, and other analogous instances are produced by Schömann (De Comit. Athen., p. 206).

² τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα: cf. Aristophanes, Eccl. 1089. Although there is no particular reason why the words δίχα ἕκαστον should not have occurred in the decree, the balance of evidence seems on the whole to be against it. For in § 23 Euryptolemus insists just as much on the importance of separate trial for each of the accused, if the other constitutional alternative κατὰ τὸν νόμον . . . ὅς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ προδύταις should be adopted instead. Moreover, in § 34 he seems to put the words δίχα ἕκαστον into his amendment rather in opposition to the μὴ ψήφῳ of Callixenus' προβούλευμα than in close connexion with the κατὰ τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα. Finally, the Scholiast on Aristophanes (ad loc.) gives quite a different interpretation of the word διαλελημμένον, which commentators have assumed to refer to the supposed δίχα ἕκαστον of the decree, viz. κατεχόμενον ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπολογίσθαι τὸν κατ' εἰσαγγελίαν ἀποκρινόμενον—an interpretation which fits in very well with Xenophon's διδεδμένον ἀποδικεῖν.

What however was the nature of this *ὑπωμοσία*? Viewed simply in relation to the context, the passage seems to mean that Menecles challenged the vote on some formal ground, which rendered it necessary for the *ἐπιστάτης* to put the question to the vote again. Ordinarily, however, a *ὑπωμοσία* meant much more: it meant a determination in the mover of it to bring the question challenged under the cognizance of a court of law, and had the effect of suspending the validity of the resolution until the court had given its decision. But Xenophon never says a word about any such adjournment, and evidently implies that the second vote was taken immediately after the first and on the same day. We have therefore to suppose either that Menecles interposed a *ὑπωμοσία* of a kind not otherwise known, or that the neglect to carry into effect the adjournment that it entailed was merely one more among the many unconstitutional incidents of the day, unless indeed we may believe the otherwise untrustworthy author of the *Axiochus*¹ (c. vii.) who speaks of Theramenes and Callixenus having at a subsequent meeting² *τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ*

¹ It is impossible to attach much weight to this statement in the *Axiochus*, because, short as it is, it contains two obvious mistakes: (1) it speaks of *πρόεδροι*, although none were instituted before the archonship of Euclides, 403 B.C.; (2) it speaks of *τρισμυρίων ἐκκλησιαζόντων*, which is evidently a fallacious computation of the whole body of Athenian freemen. Moreover, the whole dialogue, as Grote (Plato, cap. iv.) shows, is a late production, and possesses no authority.

² Gilbert here raises the question as to what became of Socrates' opposition, which both Plato and Xenophon represent to have been unswerving; and finds its solution in the hypothesis of an adjournment, because at a second meeting Socrates would no longer have been *ἐπιστάτης*. Probably, however, Socrates' scruple, which was a strictly legal one, was satisfied by his putting Euryptolemus' alternative motion to the vote, which contained a strictly legal proposal, although its rejection carried with it the passing of the Senate's *προβούλευμα*; for this seems to be the force of the preposition in composition in the words *διαχειροτονουμένων, διαχειροτονίας*. Nor need the interposition of Menecles' *ὑπωμοσία* have made any difference, if the question was immediately put again on the same day: in this case all that Socrates had to do was to put Euryptolemus' motion over again: and then, when it was rejected, the *προβούλευμα* was *ipso facto* carried. Cf. Goodwin in the *Transactions of the American Philol. Assoc.* 1885, p. 172.

suborned the proedri and so procured the condemnation of the generals.

However that may be, shortly afterwards the people repented of their injustice, and voted that a public prosecution should be instituted against those who had deceived the people. Callixenus and four others were accordingly arrested, Theramenes not being among the number, which seems to show that some distinction was drawn between his conduct and that of the rest, possibly because it was felt, as Diodorus insists at some length, that he was driven to it by the exigencies of self-defence. But before the accused could be tried, they all escaped amid the political confusion of the following year. Callixenus indeed ventured to return with Thrasybulus and the exiled democrats in 403 B.C., but hated by all, says Xenophon, he died of starvation.

§ 5. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

B. C.		EVENTS.	Year of Campaign. April to March.
411.	BOOK I. i. 1.	Agesandridas defeats the Athenian fleet.	21st, 411-410. c. Sept.
	2-7.	Battles at Rhoetium and Abydos.	Winter.
	8, 9.	Thrasyllus goes to Athens: Tissaphernes at the Hellespont arrests Alcibiades.	
410.	10-13.	Alcibiades escapes and sails to Proconnesus.	
	14-19.	Battle of Cyzicus.	
	20-22.	Alcibiades restores the Athenian dominion over the Bosphorus, &c.	
	23-31.	Sundry contemporary events:	
	32.	Revolt of Thasos to Athens.	
	33-34.	Sally of Agis from Decelea.	
	35-37.	Despatch of Clearchus to the Bosphorus, &c.	
	ii. 1-13.	Thrasyllus ravages the coast of Ionia, suffers a severe repulse at Ephesus, retires to Notium, and sails thence to the Hellespont.	22nd, 410-409. Summer.

B. C.		EVENTS.	Year of Campaign. April to March.
	18.	Lacedaemonians recapture Coryphasium.	?
		Spartan colonists massacred at Heraclea.	?
409.	14-17.	Thrasyllus joins Alcibiades at Lampsacus, where the two generals winter together and defeat Pharnabazus.	Winter.
	iii. 1-13.	Athenians sail from Lampsacus to Proconnesus, then invest Chalcedon, and compel Pharnabazus to conclude an armistice with them and to promise a safe escort for some Athenian envoys to the Persian king.	23rd, 409-408. Summer.
	14-22.	Siege and capture of Byzantium.	
408.	iv. 1.	The Athenian and other envoys meet Pharnabazus at Gordium.	Winter.
	2-7.	The envoys hear of the appointment of Cyrus to be satrap. Cyrus arrives and persuades Pharnabazus to detain the Athenian envoys.	24th, 408-407. Summer.
	8-12.	Alcibiades sails to Samos, while Thrasyllus sails with the main fleet to Athens; and then hearing of his election to be general, enters Piraeus in June.	
	13-20.	Reception of Alcibiades in Piraeus and Athens.	
		His escort of the Eleusinian festival.	
	[v. 1.	Lysander appointed to be Spartan admiral.]	
	21-23.	Alcibiades sets sail with his newly equipped fleet first to Andros, and then to Samos, which he makes his head-quarters for winter operations against the Peloponnesians.	Winter.
407.	v. 1-10.	Lysander collects a fleet of ninety vessels at Samos, negotiates with Cyrus, and makes preparations for renewing the war by sea.	

B. C.		EVENTS.	Year of Campaign. April to March.
	11-19	Alcibiades joins Thrasybulus at Phocæa : in his absence Antiochus his lieutenant is defeated at Notium. Alcibiades returns to Samos, and soon afterwards withdraws in disgrace to the Chersonese. Conon succeeds him in the command of the fleet.	25th, 407-406. Summer.
406.	20.	Conon ravages the neighbouring territory of the enemy.	Winter.
	vi. 1-12.	Callicratidas succeeds Lysander, and failing to get money from Cyrus, obtains supplies from the Milesians.	26th, 406-405. Summer.
	13-23.	Callicratidas storms Methymna, and blockades Conon in the harbour of Mytilene.	
	24-28.	The Athenians send out a fleet of 110 vessels to the rescue, which Callicratidas attempts to intercept.	
	29-36.	Battle of Arginusæ.	
	37-38.	Eteonicus despatches his ships to Chios and retires himself to Chios. The Athenian fleet sail first to Mytilene, and then to Samos.	
	vii.	Trial of the generals, who had fought at Arginusæ.	Winter.
	BOOK II. i. 1-5.	Eteonicus suppresses a mutiny among his troops at Chios, and obtains money from the Chians.	
	6, 7.	The Spartans appoint Lysander to command their fleet for a second time.	
405.	8, 9.	Cyrus is summoned to the presence of his father Darius.	
	10-14.	Lysander arrives at Ephesus, where he fits out his fleet with money supplied him by Cyrus, who soon afterwards sets out to meet Darius, having first entrusted him with the revenues	27th, 405-404. Summer.

B. C.	EVENTS.	<i>Year of Campaign.</i> April to March.
	of his province. The Athenians make counter-preparations at Samos.	
15-21.	Lysander sails to Caria and Rhodes, and thence past Ionia to the Hellespont. The Athenians set out from Samos, ravage the Persian territory, touch at Chios and Ephesus, and then at Elaeus on the Hellespont: whence, hearing that Lysander had taken Lampsacus, they take up a position opposite to him near Sestos.	
22-29.	Battle of Aegospotami.	
30-32.	Lysander captures the whole Athenian fleet and executes all the prisoners.	
ii. 1-4.	Lysander enters Byzantium and Chalcedon.	
	Dismay at Athens.	
5-9.	Lysander sails to Lesbos, where he reorganizes the government of the several states and despatches Eteonicus to do the same in Thrace. General revolt of all the Athenian allies except Samos. Lysander restores the Aeginetan, Melian, and other exiles to their native cities, and afterwards blockades Piraeus.	
10, 11.	Siege of Athens: proclamation of an amnesty.	Winter.
12-15.	Fruitless negotiations for peace first with Agis and then with the Ephors.	
404. 16-20.	Mission of Theramenes to Lysander. Three months afterwards Theramenes returns and heads an embassy to Sparta.	
	Council of the Peloponnesian allies upon the fate of Athens.	
	The Athenians accept the offered terms.	
	Lysander enters Piraeus, and begins the demolition of the Long Walls.	

B. C.	EVENTS.	<i>Year of Cam- paign.</i> April to March.
iii. 1-5.	Appointment of the Thirty. Lysander sails to Samos, and Agis evacuates Decelea. Lycophron of Pherae defeats the Larisaeans.	404-403. Summer.
6-10.	Lysander reduces Samos and returns in triumph to Sparta.	Winter.
11-21.	The Thirty begin a reign of terror, supported by the Spartan harmost and garrison.	
22-56.	Accusation and execution of Thera- menes.	
403. iv. 1-22.	The democratic exiles, headed by Thrasybulus, seize Phyle and march upon Piraeus, where they defeat the Thirty in battle, Critias being among the slain.	403. Summer.
23-27.	The Thirty are deposed and the Ten appointed in their place, with whom constant war is waged by Thrasy- bulus and the democratic exiles.	
28-38.	At the invitation of the oligarchs the Spartans send Lysander and Libys to their aid. But Pausanias inter- venes, and after some slight military operations effects a reconciliation between the contending factions.	
39-42.	Pausanias disbands the Peloponnesian army. Thrasybulus marches up to Athens, and restores the democrat- ical constitution.	
43.	Final suppression of the Thirty at Eleusis, and proclamation of an universal amnesty.	

§ 6. DATES IN THE LIFE OF XENOPHON.

B.C.	
circa 444.	Birth.
424.	Saved by Socrates at the battle of Delium (Strabo, p. 403).
401.	Accompanies Cyrus on his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, and after the battle of Cunaxa conducts the retreat of the Ten Thousand to Trapezus, and then to Chrysopolis.
399.	Enters with many of the Ten Thousand the service first of Seuthes, King of Thrace, and then of Thimbron, the Lacedaemonian.
	Exiled from Athens.
396.	Accompanies King Agesilaus on his Asiatic expedition.
394.	Returns with the King to Sparta, and is present on the Lacedaemonian side at the battle of Coronea.
	Settles shortly afterwards at Scillus in Elis.
c. 373.	Expelled from Scillus by the Eleans, whereupon he retires to Corinth.
	The sentence of exile revoked by the Athenians.
c. 356.	Death.

XENOPHON: HELLENICA, I, II.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

In a second sea-fight Agesandridas the Lacedaemonian defeats the Athenians.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἦλθεν ἐξ 411-410
'Αθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ναῦς ὀλίγας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐναυ- B.C.
μάχησαν αὐτῇς Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ 'Αθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν
δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγουμένου 'Αγησανδρίδου.

Dorieus trying in vain to enter the Hellespont, Mindarus puts out from Abydos to escort him, but is met by the Athenians. The two fleets engage, and on the arrival of Alcibiades, the Athenians drive the Peloponnesians back to Abydos with a loss of 30 ships. The Athenians leave only 40 ships at Sestos: the rest disperse to collect money, while Thrasyllus sails to Athens to ask for reinforcements.

Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τούτων Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου ἐκ 'Ρόδου 2
εἰς 'Ελλάσποντον εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος τέτταρσι
καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἅμα ἡμέρα. κατιδὼν δὲ ὁ τῶν 'Αθη- 411. Oct.
ναίων ἡμεροσκοπὸς ἐσήμηνε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. οἱ δὲ
ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶν, ἃς ὁ Δωριεὺς
φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαζε τὰς αὐτοῦ τριήρεις, ὥς
ἤνοιγε, περὶ τὸ 'Ροίτειον. ἐγγὺς δὲ γενομένων τῶν 3

411-410
B.C.

Ἀθηναίων ἐμάχοντο ἀπὸ τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς μέχρι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Μάδυντον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο 4 στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πράξαντες. Μίνδαρος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν μάχην ἐν Ἰλίῳ θύων τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ καθελκύσας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλει, 5 ὅπως ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ Δωριέως. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνταναγαγόμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν περὶ Ἀβυδον κατὰ τὴν ἡύονα μέχρι δείλης ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ. καὶ τὰ μὲν νικῶντων, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπείσπλει δυοῖν δεοῦσαις 6 εἴκοσι ναυσίν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησιῶν ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν Ἀβυδον· καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος παρεβοήθει, καὶ ἐπείσβαίνων τῷ ἱππῳ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν μέχρι δυνατὸν ἦν ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ 7 ἱππεῦσι καὶ πεζοῖς παρεκελεύετο. συμφράξαντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων λαβόντες κενὰς καὶ ἅς αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν 8 κομισάμενοι, εἰς Σηστόν. ἐντεῦθεν πλὴν τετταράκοντα νεῶν ἄλλαι ἄλλη ᾤχοντο ἐπ' ἀγρυρολογίαν ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· καὶ ὁ Θράσυλλος, εἰς ὧν τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε ταῦτα ἐξαγγελῶν καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ναῦς αἰτήσων.

Alcibiades visits Tissaphernes, who had now reached the Hellespont, but is arrested by him and sent to Sardis. A month afterwards he escapes to Clazomenae, and thence to Cardia, whither the Athenians had retreated from Sestos. Meantime the Peloponnesian ships, 60 strong, had sailed to Cyzicus. Alcibiades returns to Sestos, and leads the combined Athenian fleet, 86 strong, to Proconnesus.

Θ Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης ἦλθεν εἰς Ἑλλησπόντον· ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει Ἀλκιβιάδην ξενία

τε καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντα συλλαβὼν εἶρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσ- 411-410
κων κελεύειν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. ἡμέραις δὲ 10
B.C.
τριάκοντα ὕστερον Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαν-
τιθέου τοῦ ἀλόντος ἐν Καρία ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες νυκτὸς
ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Κλαζομενάς· οἱ δ' ἐν Σηστῷ Ἀθηναῖοι, 11
αἰσθόμενοι Μίνδαρον πλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μέλλοντα ναυσὶν
ἐξήκοντα, νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Καρδίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ
καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἦκεν ἐκ τῶν Κλαζομενῶν σὺν πέντε
τριήρεσι καὶ ἐπακτρίδι. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Πε-
λοποννησίων νῆες ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἀνηγμένοι εἶεν εἰς Κύζικον,
αὐτὸς μὲν περὶ ἧλθεν εἰς Σηστόν, τὰς δὲ ναῦς περιπλεῖν
ἐκεῖσε ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον, ἀνάγεσθαι ἤδη αὐτοῦ 12
μέλλοντος ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐπείσπλει Θηραμένης εἴκοσι
ναυσὶν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Θρασύβουλος εἴκοσιν
ἐτέραις ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφότεροι ἡργυρολογηκότες. Ἀλκι- 13
βιάδης δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ τούτοις διώκειν αὐτὸν ἐξελομένοις
τὰ μεγάλα ἰστία αὐτὸς ἐπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον· ἀθροαὶ δὲ
γενόμεναι αἱ νῆες ἅπασαι ἐν Παρίῳ ἐξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα
τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ
περὶ ἀρίστου ὥραν ἦκον εἰς Προκόνησον.

He takes measures to conceal his arrival, and exhorts his troops to fight bravely; for they had no money, while their enemies had plenty from the Persian king.

Ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπύθοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρος ἐν Κυζίκῳ εἶη καὶ 14
Φαρνάβαζος μετὰ τοῦ περσίου. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν
αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκκλησίαν
ποιήσας παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἶη καὶ ναυ-
μαχεῖν καὶ περσομαχεῖν καὶ τειχομαχεῖν· Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν,
ἔφη, χρήματα ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἄφθονα παρὰ
βασιλέως. τῇ δὲ προτεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ὠρμίσαντο, τὰ 15

- 411-410 πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ συνήθροισε παρ' ἑαυτόν,
 B.C. ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐξαγγεῖλαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
 νεῶν ἐπεκήρυξέ τε, ὃς ἂν ἀλίσκηται εἰς τὸ πέραν δια-
 πλέων, θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν.

BATTLE OF CYZICUS.

Alcibiades surprises the Peloponnesian fleet manœuvring outside the harbour, and after a hard fight by sea and land captures the whole of it. Mindarus is slain. Cyzicus surrenders to Alcibiades. He exacts money from its citizens, and from other neighbouring states, and establishes a toll-house on the Bosphorus.

- 16 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρασκευσάμενος ὥς ἐπὶ
 ναυμαχίαν ἀνηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν Κύζικον ὕοντος πολλῶ.
 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγὺς τῆς Κυζίκου ἦν, αἰθρίας γενομένης καὶ
 τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλάμψαντος καθορᾷ τὰς τοῦ Μινδάρου ναῦς
 γυμναζομένας πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἀπειλημμένας
 17 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐξήκοντα οὔσας. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἰδόντες
 τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις οὔσας πλείους τε πολλῶ ἢ
 πρότερον καὶ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, ἔφυγον πρὸς τὴν γῆν· καὶ
 συνορμίσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐμάχοντο ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς ἐναν-
 18 τίοις. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν περιπλεύσας
 ἀπέβη εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Μίνδαρος καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς
 ἐν τῇ γῇ μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες
 ἔφυγον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥχοντο ἄγοντες ἀπάσας
 εἰς Προκόννησον πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων· ἐκεῖνας δὲ
 19 αὐτοὶ κατέκαισαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῇ ὑστε-
 ραίᾳ ἔπλεον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ Κύζικον. οἱ δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ
 τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Φαρναβάζου ἐκλιπόντων αὐτὴν
 20 ἐδέχοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μείνας αὐτοῦ
 εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν
 Κυζικηνῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν ἐργασάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει

ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Προκόννησον. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἔπλευσεν 411-410
 εἰς Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυβρίαν. καὶ Περίνθιοι μὲν εἰσε- B.C.
 δέξαντο εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Σηλυβριανοὶ δὲ 21
 ἐδέξαντο μὲν οὐ, χρήματα δὲ ἔδοσαν. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀφικό- 22
 μνοι τῆς Καλχηδονίας εἰς Χρυσόπολιν ἐτείχισαν αὐτὴν,
 καὶ δεκατεντήριον κατεσκεύασαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν δεκάτην
 ἐξέλεγον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοίων, καὶ φυλακὴν ἐγκατα-
 λιπόντες ναῦς τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγὼ δύο, Θηραμένη καὶ
 Εὐμαχον, τοῦ τε χωρίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων
 πλοίων καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο δύναιντο βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους.
 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον ὥχοντο.

The despatch of Mindarus' secretary is captured and carried to Athens. The satrap Pharnabazus arms the Peloponnesian fugitives to guard his coasts, and urges their commanders to build new ships at Antandros.

Παρὰ δὲ Ἰπποκράτους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως εἰς 23
 Λακεδαίμονα γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἔάλω εἰς Ἀθήνας
 λέγοντα τάδε· Ἐρρεῖ τὰ κᾶλα. Μίνδαρος ἀπεσσύα.
 πεινῶντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρᾶν. Φαρνάβαζος 24
 δὲ παντὶ τῷ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύματι καὶ τοῖς
 συμμάχοις παρακελευσάμενος μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἔνεκα ξύλων,
 ὥς οὐτων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλέως, ἕως ἂν τὰ σώματα σᾶ
 ῃ, ἱμάτιόν τ' ἔδωκεν ἑκάστῳ καὶ ἐφόδιον δυοῖν μηνοῖν,
 καὶ ὀπλίσας τοὺς ναύτας φύλακας κατέστησε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
 παραθαλαττίας γῆς. καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν 25
 πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐκέλευε ναυπηγεῖσθαι
 τριήρεις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ὅσας ἕκαστοι ἀπώλεσαν, χρήματά
 τε διδοὺς καὶ ὕλην ἐκ τῆς Ἰδης κομίζεσθαι φράζων. ναυ- 26
 πηγουμένων δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἅμα τοῖς Ἀντανδρίοις τοῦ
 τεύχους τι ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἤρεσαν πάντων
 μάλιστα. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία Συρα-

411-410 κοσίοις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐστί. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα
B.C. διατάξας εὐθὺς εἰς Καλχηδόνα ἐβοήθει.

Story of the exile of the Syracusan commanders at Antandros, and of Hermocrates' accusation against Tissaphernes and expedition against Syracuse.

- 27 Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἡγγέλθη τοῖς τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατηγοῖς οἰκοθεν ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατιώτας Ἑρμοκράτους προηγοροῦντος ἀπωλοφύροντο τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμφορὰν, ὡς ἀδίκως φεύγοιεν ἅπαντες παρὰ τὸν νόμον· παρήνεσάν τε προθύμους εἶναι καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἀεὶ παραγγελλόμενα, μεμνημένους ὅσας τε ναυμαχίας αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς νενικήκατε καὶ ναῦς εἰλήφατε, ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀήττητοι γεγόνατε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν κρατίστην διὰ τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπάρχουσιν. ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἄρχοντας, μέχρι ἂν ἀφίκωνται οἱ ἡρημένοι αὐτ'
- 28 ἐκείνων. οἱ δ' ἀναβοήσαντες ἐκέλευον ἐκείνους ἄρχειν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνήται. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῖν στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν· εἰ δέ τις ἐπικαλοῖη τι αὐτοῖς, λόγον ἔφασαν
- 29 χρῆναι διδόναι. οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτιωμένου, δεομένων ἔμειναν ἕως ἀφίκοντο οἱ αὐτ' ἐκείνων στρατηγοί, Δήμαρχός τε Ἐπιδόκου καὶ Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμις Γνώσιος. τῶν δὲ τριηράρχων ὁμόσαντες οἱ πλείστοι κατάξειν αὐτούς, ἐπὰν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφίκωνται, ἀπε-
- 30 πέμψαντο ὅποι ἐβούλοντο πάντας ἐπαινοῦντες· ἰδίᾳ δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἑρμοκράτη προσομιλοῦντες μάλιστα ἐπόθησαν τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ κοινότητα. ὧν γὰρ ἐγίγνωσκε τοὺς ἐπικεικεστάτους καὶ τριηράρχων καὶ κυβερ-

νητῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πρὸς καὶ πρὸς 411-410
 ἑσπέραν συναλίζων πρὸς τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνεξυ- B.C.
 νούτο ὅτι ἔμελλεν ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν, καὶ κείνους ἐδίδασκε
 κελεύων λέγειν τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ παραχρήμα, τὰ δὲ βου-
 λευσαμένους. ἐκ τούτων Ἑρμοκράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ 31
 συνεδρίῳ εὐδόξει, λέγειν τε δοκῶν καὶ βουλεύειν τὰ
 κράτιστα. κατηγορήσας δὲ Τισσαφέρνους ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
 Ἑρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦντος καὶ Ἀστυόχου, καὶ δόξας τὰ
 ὄντα λέγειν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον, πρὶν αἰτῆσαι
 χρήματα λαβών, παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας
 κάθοδον ξένους τε καὶ τριήρεις. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἦκον οἱ
 διάδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον καὶ παρέλαβον
 τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.

*The Spartan harmost Eteonicus is expelled from Thasos.
 The admiral Cratesippidas takes command of the ships
 that Pasippidas had collected.*

Ἐν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον στάσεως γενο- 32
 μένης ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ λακωνισταὶ καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἄρμοστῆς
 Ἑτεόνικος· καταιτιαθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι σὺν Τισσαφέρνει
 Πασσιππίδας ὁ Λάκων ἔφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ναυ-
 τικόν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος ἠθροίκει ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξεπέμφθη
 Κρατησιππίδας, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν Χίῳ.

*Agis makes a sally from Decelea, but retreats hastily before
 Thrasyllus. In reward the Athenians vote Thrasyllus 50
 triremes and considerable reinforcements.*

Περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Θρασύλλου ἐν Ἀθήναις 33
 ὄντος Ἄγισ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προνομὴν ποιούμενος πρὸς
 αὐτὰ τὰ τεῖχη ἦλθε τῶν Ἀθηναίων· Θρασύλλος δὲ ἑξα-
 γαγὼν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει
 ὄντας ἅπαντας παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον γυμνάσιον,
 ὥς μαχομένους, ἂν προσίωσιν. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα Ἄγισ 34

411-410
B.C.

ἀπήγαγε ταχέως, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Θρασύλλῳ διὰ ταῦτα ἔτι προθυμότεροι ἦσαν ἐφ' ἃ ἦκε, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο ὀπλίτας τε αὐτὸν καταλέξασθαι χιλίους, ἱππέας δὲ ἑκατόν, τριήρεις δὲ πευτήκοντα.

Agis sends Clearchus with a small squadron to the Bosphorus to cut off the Athenian corn supply. Clearchus loses three ships in the Hellespont, but with the rest safely reaches Byzantium.

- 35 Ἄγης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἰδὼν πλοῖα πολλὰ σίτου εἰς Πειραιᾷ καταθέοντα, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη εἶναι τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον Ἀθηναίους εἶργειν τῆς γῆς, εἰ μή τις σχήσοι καὶ ὅθεν ὁ κατὰ θάλατταν σίτος φοιτᾷ· κράτιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου πρόξενον ὄντα Βυζαντίων πέμψαι εἰς Καλχηδόνα τε καὶ Βυζάντιον.
- 36 δόξαντος δὲ τούτου, πληρωθεισῶν νεῶν ἔκ τε Μεγάρων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πεντεκαίδεκα στρατιωτίδων μᾶλλον ἢ ταχειῶν ὥχετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν τρεῖς ἀπόλλυνται ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐννεά νεῶν, αἱ ἀεὶ ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοῖα διεφύλαττον, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ἔφυγον εἰς Σηστόν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν.

Contemporary events in Sicily.

- 37 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀννίβα ἡγουμένου στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίαν δέκα μυριάσι στρατιᾶς αἰροῦσιν ἐν τρισὶ μῆσιν δύο πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας Σελινούντα καὶ Ἰμέραν.

CHAPTER II.

Thrasyllus sails with his fleet to Samos: he makes numerous descents upon the Ionian coast, till he is stopped by Stages the Persian. 410-409 B.C.

Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει [ὃ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς τρίτη καὶ ἐνενηκοστή, ἢ προστεθεῖσα ξυνωρίς ἐνίκα Εὐαγόρου Ἡλείου, τὸ δὲ στάδιον Εὐβώτας Κυρηναῖος, ἐπὶ ἐφόρου μὲν ὄντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ Εὐαρχίππου, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Εὐκτῆμονος,] Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Θορικὸν ἐτείχισαν, Θράσυλλος δὲ τὰ τε ψηφισθέντα πλοῖα λαβὼν καὶ πεντακισχιλίου τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστὰς ποιησάμενος, [ὥς ἅμα καὶ πελτασταῖς ἐσομένοις,] ἐξέπλευσεν ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους εἰς Σάμον. 410 April. ἐκεῖ δὲ μείνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πύγελαν· καὶ 2 ἐνταῦθα τήν τε χώραν ἐδήου καὶ προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου βοηθήσαντές τινες τοῖς Πυγελεύσι διεσπαρμένους ὄντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐδίωκον. οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν δύο λόχοι βοηθήσαντες 3 πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ Μιλήτου ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, καὶ ἀσπίδας ἔλαβον ὥς διακοσίας, καὶ τρόπαιον ἔστησαν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλευσαν εἰς 4 Νότιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν παρασκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο εἰς Κολοφῶνα. Κολοφῶνιοι δὲ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντας τοῦ σίτου, καὶ κώμας τε πολλὰς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ χρήματα c. 410 June. ἔλαβον καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἄλλην λείαν πολλήν. Στάγης 5 δὲ ὁ Πέρσης περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ὢν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας λείας, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἱππέων ἕνα μὲν ζῶν ἔλαβεν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀπέκτεινε. Θράσυλλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν 6

410-409 ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν στρατιάν, ὥς εἰς Ἑφεσον πλευσό-
B.C. μενος.

Thrasyllus attacks Ephesus, but is defeated with great loss by the citizens, Syracusans, and the troops of Tissaphernes.

Τισσαφέρνης δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα, στρα-
τιάν τε συνέλεγε πολλὴν καὶ ἱππέας ἀπέστελλε παραγ-
γέλλων πᾶσιν εἰς Ἑφεσον βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. Θρά-
7 συλλος δὲ ἐβδόμη καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν
εἰς Ἑφεσον ἔπλευσε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας πρὸς τὸν
Κορησὸν ἀποβιβάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας καὶ πελταστὰς
καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ
τὰ ἕτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσῆγε δύο στρα-
8 τόπεδα. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν σφίσιν, οἳ τε
σύμμαχοι οὗς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε, καὶ Συρακόσιοι οἳ τ'
ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἐτέρων πέντε, αἱ
ἔτυχον τότε παραγενόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἤκουσαι μετὰ Εὐ-
κλέους τε τοῦ Ἰππωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀριστογένους
9 στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελινούσiai δύο. οὗτοι δὲ πάντες πρῶτον
μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἐν Κορησσῷ ἐβοήθησαν·
τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ ἀποκτείναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὥς εἰ
ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς
παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἐτράποντο. ἔφυγον δὲ κάκεῖ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι,
10 καὶ ἀπώλυντο αὐτῶν ὥς τριακόσιοι. οἱ δὲ Ἑφέσιοι τρώ-
παιον ἐνταῦθα ἔστησαν καὶ ἕτερον πρὸς τῷ Κορησσῷ.
τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ Σελινουσίοις κρατίστοις γενο-
μένοις ἀριστεία ἔδωκαν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοῖς, καὶ
οἰκεῖν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωσαν τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀεὶ. Σελινουσίοις
δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλώλει, καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδωσαν.

The Athenians retreat to Notium, and sail thence to Lesbos, 410-409 B.C. where they fall in with the Syracusans, and chase them back to Ephesus with the loss of four ships. Thrasyllus joins the Athenian squadron at Sestos, and the combined force then crosses to Lampascus.

Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπολαβόντες 11
ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κακεῖ θάψαντες αὐτοὺς ἔπλευν
ἐπὶ Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου. ὁρμοῦντες δὲ ἐν Μηθύμνῃ
τῆς Λέσβου εἶδον παραπλεύσας ἐξ Ἑφέσου τὰς Συρα-
κοσίας ναῦς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀναχθέντες 12
τέτταρας μὲν ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας κατε-
δίωξαν εἰς Ἑφeson. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους 13
Θρασύλλος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέπεμψε πάντας, Ἀλκιβιάδην
δὲ Ἀθηναῖον, Ἀλκιβιάδου ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν καὶ συμφυγάδα,
ἀπέλυσεν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σηστόν πρὸς
τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἅπαντα ἡ στρατιὰ διέβη
εἰς Λάμψακον.

The unconquered troops of Alcibiades refuse to associate with the defeated troops of Thrasyllus, until in combination they win a brilliant victory over Pharnabazus at Abydos.

Καὶ χειμῶν ἐπῆει, ἐν ᾧ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι Συρακόσιοι, 14
εἰργμένοι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις, διορύξαντες τὴν 410 Oct.
πέτραν, ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς ᾤχοντο εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δ'
εἰς Μέγαρα. ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμψάκῃ συντάττοντος Ἀλκι- 15
βιάδου τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οἱ πρότεροι στρατιῶται οὐκ
ἐβούλουντο τοῖς μετὰ Θρασύλλου συντάττεσθαι, ὥς αὐτοὶ
μὲν ὄντες ἀήττητοι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἡττημένοι ἦκοιεν. ἐνταῦθα
δὴ ἐχείμαζον ἅπαντες Λάμψακον τειχίζοντες. καὶ ἐστρά- 16
τευσαν πρὸς Ἀβυδον· Φαρνάβαζος δ' ἐβοήθησεν ἵπποις
πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχῃ ἡττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ
ἐδίωκεν ἔχων τοὺς τε ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ

- 410-409 B.C. ἑκατόν, ὧν ἦρχε Μένανδρος, μέχρι σκότος ἀφείλετο. ἐκ
 17 δὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης συνέβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοὶ
 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡσπάζοντο τοὺς μετὰ Θρασύλλου. ἐξῆλθον
 δέ τινας καὶ ἄλλας ἐξόδους τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον
 καὶ ἐπόρθουν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν.

The Lacedaemonians recapture Coryphasium, i.e. Sphacteria. Massacre of the Spartan colonists at Heraclea. Revolt of the Medes.

- 18 Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς εἰς τὸ Κο-
 ρυφάσιον τῶν Εἰλώτων ἀφεστῶτας ἐκ Μαλέας ὑπο-
 σπόνδους ἀφῆκαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ἐν
 Ἑρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχινίᾳ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους, ἀντιτε-
 ταγμένων πάντων πρὸς Οἰταίους πολεμίους ὄντας, πρού-
 δοσαν, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους σὺν τῷ
 19 ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἄρμουςτῇ Λαβώτᾳ. καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν
 οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Μῆδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως
 ἀποστάντες πάλιν προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ.

CHAPTER III.

The Athenian fleet sails from Lampsacus to Proconnesus and the Bosphorus. Alcibiades invests Chalcedon, and successfully resists a joint attack made on his lines by Hippocrates from within and Pharnabazus from without. Hippocrates was slain.

- 409-408 B.C. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ νεὼς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
 ἐνεπρήσθη πρηστῆρος ἐμπεσόντος, ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ χειμὼν ἔλθε,
 [Παντακλέους μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀντιγένους,]
 409 April. ἔαρος ἀρχομένου, [δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ
 παρεληλυθότων,] οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς Προκόννησον

παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπὶ Καλχηδόνα καὶ 409-408
 Βυζάντιον ὁρμήσαντες ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς Καλχη- 2 B.C.
 δόνι. οἱ δὲ Καλχηδόνιοι προσιόντας αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς
 Ἀθηναίους, τὴν λείαν ἅπασαν κατέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς
 Θωράκας ἀστυγείτονας ὄντας. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν 3
 τε ὀπλιτῶν ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς παρα-
 πλεῖν κελεύσας, ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἀπῆται τὰ τῶν
 Καλχηδονίων χρήματα· εἰ δὲ μή, πολεμήσειν ἔφη αὐτοῖς.
 οἱ δὲ ἀπέδωκαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐπεὶ ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρα- 4
 τόπεδον τὴν τε λείαν ἔχων καὶ πίστεις πεποιημένος,
 ἀπετείχιζε τὴν Καλχηδόνα παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπὸ
 θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅσον οἶόν τ' ἦν
 ξυλίνῳ τείχει. ἐνταῦθα Ἰπποκράτης μὲν ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος 5
 ἄρμοστής ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς
 μαχούμενος· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο αὐτῷ,
 Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἔξω τῶν περιτειχισμάτων προσεβοήθει
 στρατιᾷ τε καὶ ἵπποις πολλοῖς. Ἰπποκράτης μὲν οὖν 6
 καὶ Θράσυλλος ἐμάχοντο ἑκάτερος τοῖς ὀπλίταις χρόνον
 πολύν, μέχρι Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχων ὀπλίτας τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς
 ἱππέας ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἰπποκράτης μὲν ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ
 μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ 7
 Φαρνάβαζος, οὐ δυνάμενος συμμίξαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰπποκράτη
 διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτειχισμά-
 των ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ τῶν
 Καλχηδονίων, οὗ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

While Alcibiades is absent collecting money on the Hellespont, the Athenians come to terms with Pharnabazus, who agrees to send Athenian envoys to the Persian king, and to allow Chalcedon again to become tributary to Athens. The Athenians agree to suspend all hostilities till their return.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν ὥχετο εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσ- 8

- 409-408 B.C. ποντον καὶ εἰς Χερρόνησον χρήματα πράξων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ συνεχώρησαν πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον ὑπὲρ Καλχηδόνος εἴκοσι τάλαντα δοῦναι Ἀθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον καὶ ὥς βασιλέα πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων ἀναγαγεῖν, καὶ ὄρκους ἔδοσαν καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ὑποτελεῖν τὸν φόρον Καλχηδονίους Ἀθηναίοις ὅσον περ εἰώθεσαν καὶ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι, Ἀθηναίους δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχηδονίοις, ἕως ἂν οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἔλθωσιν.

*After some delay Alcibiades swears to the treaty at Chryso-
polis and Pharnabazus at Chalcedon. Pharnabazus goes
to Cyzicus, where he is met by the Athenian envoys, and
also by some Spartan envoys.*

- 10 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τοῖς ὅρκοις οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, ἀλλὰ περὶ Σηλυβρίαν ἦν· ἐκείνην δ' ἔλων πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἦκεν, ἔχων Χερρουησίτας τε πανδημεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ Θράκης
11 στρατιώτας καὶ ἱππέας πλείους τριακοσίων. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἀξιῶν δεῖν κάκεῖνον ὁμνῦναι, περιέμενεν ἐν Καλχηδόνι, μέχρι ἔλθοι ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἦλθεν, οὐκ ἔφη ὁμείσθαι, εἰ μὴ κάκεῖνος αὐτῷ ὁμείται. μετὰ ταῦτα ὤμοσεν ὁ μὲν ἐν Χρυσοπόλει οἷς Φαρνάβαζος ἐπεμψε
12 Μιτροβάτει καὶ Ἀρνάπει, ὁ δ' ἐν Καλχηδόνι τοῖς παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυπτολέμφω καὶ Διοτίμφω τὸν τε κοινὸν
13 ὄρκον καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀλλήλοις πίστεις ἐποιήσαντο. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἀπῆει, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα πορευομένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντᾶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύζικον. ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν Δωρόθεος, Φιλοδίκης, Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτόλεμος, Μαντίθεος, σὺν δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλοχος· ἐπορεύοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Πασιππίδας καὶ ἔτεροι, μετὰ δὲ

τούτων καὶ Ἑρμοκράτης, ἥδη φεύγων ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, 409-408
καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος. B.C.

The Athenians besiege Byzantium. While Clearchus the Spartan harmost is away, collecting forces to raise the siege, some Byzantines betray the city to Alcibiades. The garrison, unable to resist, surrender. Story of Anaxilaus at Sparta.

Καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν τούτους ἤγεγν' οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ 14
Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκουν περιτειχίσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος
ἀκροβολισμοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βυ- 15
ζαντίῳ ἦν Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρμοστὴς καὶ σὺν
αὐτῷ τῶν περιοίκων τινὲς καὶ τῶν νεοδαμωδῶν οὐ πολλοὶ
καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Ἑλῖξος Μεγαρεὺς καὶ
Βοιωτοὶ καὶ τούτων ἄρχων Κοιρατάδας. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι 16
ὥς οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο διαπράξασθαι κατ' ἰσχύν, ἐπεισάν
τινας τῶν Βυζαντίων προδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. Κλέαρχος 17
δὲ ὁ ἄρμοστὴς οἰόμενος οὐδένα ἂν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, κατα-
στήσας δὲ ἅπαντα ὥς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἐπιτρέψας
τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κοιρατάδα καὶ Ἑλῖξω, διέβη παρὰ τὸν
Φαρνάβαζον εἰς τὸ πέραν, μισθόν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις
παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος καὶ ναῦς συλλέξων, αἱ ἦσαν ἐν
τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἄλλαι καταλελειμμέναι φρουρίδες ὑπὸ
Πασσιππίδου καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ καὶ ἃς Ἀγησανδρίδας
εἶχεν ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἐπιβάτης ὢν Μινδάρου, καὶ ὅπως ἄλλαι
ναυπηγηθείησαν, ἀθροαὶ δὲ γενόμεναι πᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς
συμμάχους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιοῦσαι ἀποσπάσειαν τὸ
στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ 18
Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων
Κύδων καὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ Λυκοῦργος καὶ
Ἀναξίλαος, ὃς ὑπαγόμενος θανάτου ὕστερον ἐν Λακεδαί- 19
μονι διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν ἀπέφυγεν, ὅτι οὐ προδοίῃ τὴν

409-408 πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σώσαι, παῖδας ὀρώων καὶ γυναῖκας λιμῶ
 B.C. ἀπολλυμένας, Βυζάντιος ὦν καὶ οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιος· τὸν
 γὰρ ἐνόντα σίτον Κλέαρχον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιώ-
 ταις διδόναι· διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἔφη εἰσέσθαι,
 οὐκ ἀργυρίου ἔνεκα οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ μισεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους·
 20 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, νυκτὸς ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας
 τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θράκιον καλουμένας εἰσήγαγον τὸ στράτευμα
 21 καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ Ἑλιξος καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας
 οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες ἐβοήθουν μετὰ πάντων εἰς τὴν
 ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντῃ οἱ πολέμιοι κατεῖχον, οὐδὲν
 22 ἔχοντες, ὅτι ποιήσειαν, παρέδωσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς. καὶ
 οὗτοι μὲν ἀπεπεμφθησαν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας
 ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀποβαινόντων ἐν Πειραιεὶ ἔλαθεν ἀποδρὰς
 καὶ ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.

CHAPTER IV.

Pharnabazus and the envoys are met at Gordium by some Spartan envoys with the news that Cyrus has been appointed satrap at Sardis, and ordered to aid the Lacedaemonians in the war.

408-407 Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς Φρυγίας ἐν Γορ-
 B.C. 2 διεῖψ ὄντες τὸν χειμῶνα τὰ περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον πεπραγ-
 408 April. μένα ἤκουσαν. ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος πορευομένοις
 αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἳ τε
 Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Βοιώτιος ὄνομα καὶ οἱ μετ'
 αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 3 πάντων ὦν δέονται πεπραγότες εἶεν παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ
 Κῦρος, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ συμπολεμή-

σων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιστολήν τε ἔφερε τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι 408-407
τὸ βασίλειον σφράγισμα ἔχουσιν, ἐν ᾗ ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε· B.C.
Καταπέμπω Κῦρον κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροίζο-
μένων. [Τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον.]

Cyrus on his arrival persuades Pharnabazus to detain the Athenian envoys on various pretexts, so that they did not return till three years afterwards.

Ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, καὶ 4
ἐπειδὴ Κῦρον εἶδον, ἐβούλοντο μάλιστα μὲν παρὰ βασι-
λέα ἀναβῆναι, εἰ δὲ μή, οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν. Κῦρος δὲ 5
Φαρναβάζῳ εἶπεν ἡ παραδοῦναι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἑαυτῷ ἢ
μὴ οἴκαδ' ἐπελθεῖν, βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ πραττόμενα. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τέως μὲν 6
κατεῖχε τοὺς πρέσβεις, φάσκων τοτὲ μὲν ἀνάξειν αὐτοὺς
παρὰ βασιλέα, τοτὲ δὲ οἴκαδε ἀποπέμψειν, ὥς μηδὲν
μέμνηται· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς ἦσαν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ 7
Κύρου ἀφεῖναι αὐτοὺς, φάσκων ὁμωμοκέναι ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ
θάλατταν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα. πέμψαντες δὲ Ἀριο-
βαρζάνει παρακομίσαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον· ὁ δὲ ἀπήγαγεν
εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ὅθεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον
ἀπέπλευσαν.

Alcibiades designs to return to Athens. Thrasybulus reduces Thasos and the rebels in Thrace. Thrasyllus leads the main fleet back to Athens. Meantime the Athenians elect Alcibiades general.

Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν 8
ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμον· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ
λαβὼν τῶν νεῶν εἴκοσιν ἔπλευσε τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν
Κεραμικὸν κόλπον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ συλλέξας ἑκατὸν τά- 9
λαντα ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Σάμον. Θρασύβουλος δὲ σὺν τριά-

- 408-407 B.C. κοντα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Θράκης ὥχετο, ἐκεῖ δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα χωρία τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μεθεστηκότα κατεστρέψατο καὶ Θάσον, ἔχουσιν κακῶς ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολέμων
 10 καὶ στάσεων καὶ λιμοῦ. Θράσυλλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ εἰς Ἀθήνας κατέπλευσε· πρὶν δὲ ἦκειν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγούς εἶλοντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Θρασύβουλον ἀπόντα, Κύνωνα δὲ τρίτον ἐκ τῶν οἰκοθεν.

Alcibiades sails from Samos and on hearing the news with some hesitation enters Piraeus on the day of the Plynteria.

- 11 Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχων τὰ χρήματα κατέπλευσεν εἰς Πάρον ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς Γυθείου ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τῶν τριήρων, ἃς ἐπυνθάνετο Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτόθι παρασκευάζειν τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε κατάπλου ὅπως ἡ πόλις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχει.
 12 ἐπεὶ δ' ἑώρα ἑαυτῷ εὖνουν οὔσαν καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἡρημένους καὶ ἰδίᾳ μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους,
 408 June. κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἔδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ τινες οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμήσαι ἂν ᾤψασθαι.

Various feelings of the Athenians towards him: some said that he was the victim of the intrigues of his enemies, who had contrived his exile to make room for their own ambitious schemes; others, that he was the cause of all the Athenian misfortunes.

- 13 Καταπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὃ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ ὃ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὄχλος ἠθροίσθη πρὸς τὰς ναῦς, θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν

408-407
B.C.

His defence before the Senate and Assembly is favourably received. He is chosen commander-in-chief, and conducts the sacred procession to Eleusis safely by land. Then having equipped 100 triremes and large reinforcements, he sails with them to Andros. He gains a slight success over the Andrians, and then sails to Samos.

Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὀρμισθεὶς ἀπέβαινε μὲν 18

- 408-407 οὐκ εὐθέως, φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐχθρούς· ἐπαναστὰς δὲ ἐπὶ
 B.C. τοῦ καταστροφώματος ἐσκόπει τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηδείους, εἰ
 19 παρείησαν. κατιδὼν δὲ Εὐρυντόλεμον τὸν Πεισιάνακτος,
 αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀνεψιόν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκέλους καὶ τοὺς φί-
 λους μετ' αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβὰς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, εἴ τις ἄπτοιτο, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν.
 20 ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς οὐκ
 ἡσεβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς ἡδίκηται, λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων
 τοιούτων καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι
 ἂν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθεὶς ἀπάντων ἡγεμὼν αὐτο-
 κράτωρ, ὡς οἶός τε ὦν σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν τῆς πόλεως
 δύναμιν, πρότερον μὲν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ
 θάλατταν ἀγόντων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν
 21 ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντας· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατε-
 λέξατο στρατιάν, ὀπλίτας μὲν πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους,
 ἱππέας δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ναῦς δ' ἑκατόν. καὶ
 408 Oct. μετὰ τὸν κατάπλουν τρίτῳ μηνὶ ἀνήχθη ἐπ' Ἀνδρον
 ἀφεστηκυῖαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀριστο-
 κράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Λευκολοφίδου συνεπέμφθησαν
 22 ἥρημένοι κατὰ γῆν στρατηγοί. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀπεβί-
 βασε τὸ στράτευμα τῆς Ἀνδρίας χώρας εἰς Γαύρειον·
 ἐκβοηθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἀνδρίους ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατέ-
 κλεισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλοὺς
 23 καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας οἳ αὐτόθι ἦσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ
 τρόπαιόν τε ἕστησε καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας
 ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον, κακείθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐπολέμει.

CHAPTER V.

Lysander is appointed Spartan admiral and collects a fleet of 70 ships at Ephesus, where he waits till Cyrus' arrival at Sardis. 408-407 B.C.

Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ Κρατησιππίδα τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθυίας Λύσανδρον ἐξέπεμψαν ναύαρχον. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς ἐκεῖθεν λαβὼν, εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μίλητον ἔπλευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς Ἑφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινε ναῦς ἔχων ἐβδομήκοντα μέχρι οὗ Κῦρος εἰς Σάρδεῖς ἀφίκετο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκεν, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος πρέσβεσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατὰ τε τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους ἔλεγον ἃ πεποιηκῶς εἶη, αὐτοῦ τε Κύρου ἐδέοντο ὡς προθυμοτάτου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον γενέσθαι. 2

Lysander obtains from Cyrus promises of vigorous support and increased pay for the Peloponnesians.

Κῦρος δὲ τὸν τε πατέρα ἔφη ταῦτα ἐπεσταλκέναι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνωκέναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιήσειν ἔχων δὲ ἦκειν τάλαντα πεντακόσια· ἐὰν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκλίπη, τοῖς ἰδίῳις χρήσεσθαι ἔφη, ἃ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψειν ἐφ' οὗ ἐκάθητο, ὄντα ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπήνουν καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν τάξαι τῷ ναύτῃ δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν, διδάσκοντες ὅτι ἂν οὗτος ὁ μισθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦται ἀπολείψουσι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μείω χρήματα ἀναλώσει. ὁ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἔφη αὐτοὺς λέγειν, οὐ δυνατὸν δ' εἶναι παρ' ἃ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ἄλλα ποιεῖν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὕτως ἐχούσας, τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἐκάστη νηὶ τοῦ μηνὸς διδόναι, ὁπόσας ἂν 5

408-407 βούλονται τρέφειν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τότε
 B.C. 6 μὲν ἐσιώπησε· μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ προπιῶν ὁ
 Κῦρος ἤρετο τί ἂν μάλιστα χαρίζοιτο ποιῶν, εἶπεν ὅτι Εἰ
 7 πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ ναύτῃ ὀβολὸν προσθείης. ἐκ
 δὲ τούτου τέτταρες ὀβολοὶ ἦν ὁ μισθός, πρότερον δὲ
 τριῷβολον. καὶ τὸν τε προυφειλόμενον ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἔτι
 μηνὸς προὔδωκεν, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ προθυμότερον
 εἶναι.

*The Athenians in despair send envoys to Cyrus, but he
 refuses to see them. Lysander had now 90 ships at
 Ephesus.*

8 Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχον,
 ἔπεμπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον πρέσβεις διὰ Τισσαφέρνους.
 9 ὁ δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο, δεομένου Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λέγον-
 τος, ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίει πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, σκοπεῖν
 ὅπως τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδὲ οἷτινες ἰσχυροὶ ᾧσιν, ἀλλὰ
 10 πάντες ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς στασιάζοντες. καὶ
 ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο,
 ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ οὔσας ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα
 ἡσυχίαν ἤγεεν, ἐπισκευάζων καὶ ἀναψύχων αὐτάς.

*Alcibiades crosses to Phocaea to visit Thrasybulus, leaving
 his fleet at Samos, in charge of Antiochus, with strict
 orders not to fight. But Antiochus disobeys, and draws on
 a general engagement at Notium, in which he is defeated
 by Lysander with a loss of 15 ships.*

11 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Θρασύβουλον ἐξ Ἑλλησπόν-
 407-406 του ἦκοντα τειχίζειν Φώκαιαν διέπλευσε πρὸς αὐτόν,
 B.C. 407 April. καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὐτοῦ κυβερ-
 νήτην, ἐπιστείλας μὴ ἐπιπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Λυσάνδρου ναῦς.
 12 Ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῇ τε αὐτοῦ νηὶ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐκ Νοτίου

εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλεύσας παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς 407-408
 πρῶρας τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν παρέπλει. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος 13 ^{B.C.}
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας ἐδίωκεν
 αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ ἐβοήθουν
 πλείοσι ναυσί, τότε δὴ καὶ πάσας συντάξας ἐπέπλει.
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύ-
 σαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις ἀνήχθησαν, ὥς ἕκαστος ἦνοι-
 ξεν. ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐναυμάχησαν οἱ μὲν ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ 14
 Ἀθηναῖοι διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς ναυσί, μέχρι οὗ ἔφυγον
 ἀπολέσαντες πεντεκαίδεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ
 μὲν πλείστοι ἐξέφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐζωγρήθησαν. Λύσανδρος
 δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τρόπαιον στήσας ἐπὶ
 τοῦ Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς
 Σάμον.

*On his return to Samos Alcibiades tries in vain to renew
 the battle and avenge the defeat.*

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς Σάμον ἀνήχθη 15
 ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ
 πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἴ τις βούλοιτο ναυμαχεῖν.
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε διὰ τὸ πολλαῖς
 ναυσὶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον. Λακεδαι-
 μόνιοι δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον αἰροῦσι Δελφίνιον καὶ Ἡίονα.

*On hearing of this affair the Athenians at home choose ten
 other generals in place of Alcibiades, who, finding himself
 unpopular also with his fleet, sails away to the Chersonese.*

Οἱ δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἠγγέλθη ἡ ναυμαχία, 16
 χαλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, οἰόμενοι δι' ἀμέλειάν τε
 καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλεκέναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρατηγούς
 εἵλοντο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα, Διομέδοντα, Λέοντα,
 Περικλέα, Ἐρασινίδην, Ἀριστοκράτη, Ἀρχέστρατον,

- 407-406 B.C. Πρωτόμαχον, Θράσυλλον, Ἀριστογέννη. Ἀλκιβιάδης
 17 μὲν οὖν πονήρως καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ φερόμενος, λαβὼν
 τριήρη μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρόνησον εἰς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ
 τείχη.

*Conon succeeds Alcibiades at Samos; he mans only 70 ships
 out of 100, and with them ravages the neighbouring
 coast.*

- 18 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κόνων ἐκ τῆς Ἀνδρου σὺν αἷς εἶχε
 ναυσὶν εἴκοσι ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων εἰς Σάμον ἔπλευ-
 σεν ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. ἀντὶ δὲ Κόνωνος εἰς Ἀνδρον
 19 ἔπεμψαν Φανοσθένη, τέτταρας ναῦς ἔχοντα. οὗτος περι-
 τυχὼν δυοῖν τριήροιν Θουρίαιν ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι·
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας ἔδησαν Ἀθηναῖοι,
 τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωριέα, ὄντα μὲν Ῥόδιον, πάλαι
 δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατε-
 ψηφισμένων αὐτοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν,
 πολιτεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐλεήσαντες ἀφείσαν οὐδὲ χρή-
 20 ματα πραξάμενοι. Κόνων δ' ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Σάμον ἀφίκετο
 καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέλαβεν ἀθύμως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας
 τριήρεις ἐβδομήκοντα ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον
 ἢ ἑκατόν, καὶ ταύταις ἀναγαγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 στρατηγῶν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων
 χώρας ἐλήζετο.

Contemporary events in Sicily.

- 21 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν
 στρατεύσαντες εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τριήρεσι καὶ πεζῆς στρα-
 τιᾶς δώδεκα μυριάσιν εἶλον Ἀκράγαντα λιμῶ, μάχῃ μὲν
 ἡττηθέντες, προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ μῆνας.

CHAPTER VI.

*Callicratidas succeeds Lysander at Ephesus. His answer 406-405
to Lysander's empty boast. B.C.*

Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει ᾧ ἢ τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἐσπέρας 406 April.
καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη,
[Πιτύα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνη-
σιν,] οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἤδη
τοῦ χρόνου [καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ ἔκοσιν ἔτων]
ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν. ὅτε δὲ παρεδίδου 2
ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰς ναῦς, ἔλεγε τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ ὅτι
θαλαττοκράτωρ τε παραδιδοίῃ καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ νενικηκώς.
ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ Ἑφέσου ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμου
παραπλεύσαντα, οὗ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες, ἐν
Μιλήτῳ παραδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ὁμολογήσειν θαλατ-
τοκρατεῖν.

*He increases his fleet to 140 vessels, and prepares for battle;
but finding himself traduced by Lysander's friends, he
assembles the Lacedaemonians and tells them that he had
come only in obedience to the Spartan government, and
was ready to return if they so wished.*

Οὐ φαμένον δὲ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου πολυπραγμονεῖν ἄλλον 3
ἄρχοντος, αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλικρατίδας πρὸς αἷς παρὰ Λυσάν-
δρου ἔλαβε ναυσὶ προσεπλήρωσεν ἐκ Χίου καὶ Ῥόδου
καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πεντήκοντα ναῦς. ταύ-
τας δὲ πάσας ἀθροίσας, οὐσας τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν,
παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπαντησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις. κατα- 4
μαθὼν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων καταστασιαζόμενος,
οὐ μόνον ἀπροθύμως ὑπηρετούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθροούν-
των ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέγιστα παρα-

406-405 B.C. πίπτοιεν ἐν τῷ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἀνεπιτηδείων γιγνομένων καὶ ἄρτι συνιέντων τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὡς χρηστέον οὐ γιγνωσκόντων, ἀπείρους θαλάττης πέμποντες καὶ ἀγνώτας τοῖς ἐκεῖ, κινδυνεύοιεν τι παθεῖν διὰ τοῦτο, ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Καλλικρατίδας συγκαλέσας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίω ἐκεῖ παρόντας ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς τοιάδε.

5 Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ οἴκοι μένειν, καὶ εἴτε Λύσανδρος εἴτε ἄλλος τις ἐμπειρότερος περὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ βούλεται εἶναι, οὐ κωλύω τὸ κατ' ἐμέ· ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς πεμφθεὶς οὐκ ἔχω τί ἄλλο ποιῶ ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι κράτιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἃ ἐγὼ τε φιλοτιμούμαι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτιάσεται, ἵστε γὰρ αὐτὰ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγώ, συμβουλευέτε τὰ ἄριστα ὑμῖν δοκοῦντα εἶναι περὶ τοῦ ἐμὲ ἐνθάδε μένειν ἢ οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν ἐροῦντα τὰ καθεστῶτα ἐνθάδε.

The malcontents thus quieted, he tries to get supplies from Cyrus, but failing, appeals to the Milesians for help, till money should come from Sparta.

6 Οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν ἢ τοῖς οἴκοι πείθεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ' ἃ ἥκει, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Κῦρον ᾗτει
7 μισθὸν τοῖς ναύταις· ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶπε δύο ἡμέρας ἐπισχεῖν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἀχθεσθεὶς τῇ ἀναβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν, ὀργισθεὶς καὶ εἰπὼν ἀθλιωτάτους εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅτι βαρβάρους κολακεύουσιν ἕνεκα ἀργυρίου, φάσκων τε, ἣν σωθῇ οἴκαδε, κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατὸν διαλλάξειν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀπέ-
8 πλευσεν εἰς Μίλητον· κάκεῖθεν πέμψας τριήρεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπὶ χρήματα, ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας τῶν Μιλησίων τάδε εἶπεν.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὦ Μιλήσιοι, ἀνάγκη τοῖς οἴκοι ἄρχουσι

πείθεσθαι· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ προθυμοτάτους εἶναι εἰς 406-405
 τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὸ οἰκοῦντας ἐν βαρβάροις πλείστα B.C.
 κακὰ ἤδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπονθέναι. δεῖ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι θ
 τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα τε καὶ μάλιστα
 βλάπτωμεν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἕως ἂν οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος
 ἤκωσιν, οὓς ἐγὼ ἔπεμψα χρήματα ἄξοντας, ἐπεὶ τὰ 10
 ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα Λύσανδρος Κύρῳ ἀποδοὺς ὥς περιττὰ
 ὄντα οἶχεται· Κύρος δὲ ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀεὶ
 ἀνεβάλλετό μοι διαλεχθῆναι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου
 θύρας φοιτᾶν οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ἐμavτὸν πείσαι. ὑπισχνού- 11
 μαι δ' ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῷ
 χρόνῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐκεῖνα προσδεχώμεθα χάριν ἀξίαν ἀποδώ-
 σειν. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δείξομεν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὅτι
 καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐκείνους θαυμάζειν δυνάμεθα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
 τιμωρεῖσθαι.

With the supplies so obtained, he sails to Chios and Lesbos, where he takes Methymna by storm, and captures many prisoners; all the Greeks he sets free except the Athenians.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἀνιστάμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα 12
 οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεδιότες εἰσηγοῦντο πόρον
 χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἰδίᾳ. λαβὼν δὲ
 ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐκ Χίου πεντεδραχμίαν ἐκάστῳ τῶν
 ναυτῶν ἐφοδιασάμενος ἔπλευσε τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ Μήθυμ-
 ναν πολεμίαν οὔσαν. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Μηθυμ- 13
 ναίων προσχωρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐμφρούρων ὄντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ
 τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων ἀπτικιζόντων, προσβαλὼν
 αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα 14
 πάντα διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται, τὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα πάντα
 συνήθροισεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ κελευ-
 όντων τῶν συμμάχων ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς Μηθυμναίους
 οὐκ ἔφη ἑαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντος οὐδένα Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸ

- 406-405 B.C. 15 ἐκείνου δυνατὸν ἀνδραποδισθῆναι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο· Κόνωνι δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι παύσει αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν. κατιδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναγόμενον ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐδίωκεν ὑποτεμνόμενος τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ ἐκείσε φύγοι.

He chases Conon, returning towards Samos, into the harbour of Mytilene, where he captures 30 of the Athenian ships, and blockades the rest. Cyrus thereupon sends him money.

- 16 Κόνων δ' ἔφευγε ταῖς ναυσὶν εὖ πλεούσαις διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν πληρωμάτων εἰς ὀλίγας ἐκλελέχθαι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας, καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Λέων καὶ Ἑρασινίδης. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διώκων
17 ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. Κόνων δὲ ὥς ἔφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθείς, ἠναγκάσθη ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπώλεσε ναῦς τριάκοντα· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν,
18 τετταράκοντα οὔσας, ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἀνείλκυσε. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὀρμισάμενος ἐπολιόρκει ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἔκπλουν ἔχων. καὶ κατὰ γῆν μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μηθυμναίους πανδημεὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ στράτευμα διεβίβασε· χρήματά τε παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ ἦλθεν.

Conon by a stratagem contrives to send a ship to Athens with the news. In thirty days the Athenians equip a fleet of 110 vessels, manned by both slaves and free.

- 19 Ὁ δὲ Κόνων ἐπεὶ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ σίτου οὐδαμόθεν ἦν εὐπορήσαι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ

ἐβοήθουν διὰ τὸ μὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ταῦτα, καθελκύσας τῶν 408-405
 νεῶν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ ἡμέρας, ἐξ B.C.
 ἀπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας ἐκλέξας καὶ τοὺς
 ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοίλην ναῦν μεταβιβάσας καὶ τὰ παραρρύ-
 ματα παραβαλὼν. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἀνεΐχον, 20
 εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑσπέραν, ἐπεὶ σκότος εἶη, ἐξεβίβαζεν, ὥς μὴ
 καταδήλους εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ταῦτα ποιοῦντας. πέμ-
 πτη δὲ ἡμέρα εἰσθέμενοι σῖτα μέτρια, ἐπειδὴ ἤδη μέσον
 ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμοῦντες ὀλιγώρως εἶχον καὶ ἔνιοι
 ἀνεπαύοντο, ἐξέπλευσαν ἔξω τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ
 Ἑλλησπόντου ὥρμησεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. τῶν δ' 21
 ἐφορμούντων ὥς ἕκαστοι ἤνοιγον, τὰς τε ἀγκύρας ἀπο-
 κόπτοντες καὶ ἐγειρόμενοι ἐβοήθουν τεταραγμένοι, τυχόν-
 τες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀριστοποιούμενοι· εἰσβάντες δὲ ἐδίωκον
 τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφορμήσασαν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ
 δύνουντι κατέλαβον, καὶ κρατήσαντες μάχη, ἀναδυσάμενοι
 ἀπῆγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἡ δ' ἐπὶ 22
 τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φυγοῦσα ναὺς διέφυγε, καὶ ἀφικομένη
 εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξαγγέλλει τὴν πολιορκίαν. Διομέδων
 δὲ βοηθῶν Κόνωνι πολιορκουμένῳ δώδεκα ναυσὶν ὥρμι-
 σατο εἰς τὸν εὐριπον τὸν τῶν Μυτιληναίων. ὁ δὲ Καλ- 23
 λικρατίδας ἐπιπλεύσας αὐτῷ ἐξαίφνης δέκα μὲν τῶν νεῶν
 ἔλαβε, Διομέδων δ' ἔφυγε τῇ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλῃ. οἱ δὲ 24
 Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπεὶ ἤκου-
 σαν, ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, εἰσβι-
 βάζοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντας ἅπαντας καὶ δούλους
 καὶ ἐλευθέρους· καὶ πληρώσαντες τὰς δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν
 ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀπῆραν. εἰσέβησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν
 ἱππέων πολλοί.

406-405 B.C. *The Athenian fleet sails to Samos, and anchors at the Arginusae islands, mustering more than 150 strong. Callicratidas leaves 50 ships under Eteonicus at Mytilene, and sails to Cape Malea with 120 ships to meet the Athenians.*

- 25 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σάμον, κακείθεν Σαμίας ναῦς ἔλαβον δέκα· ἤθροισαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, εἰσβαίνειν ἀναγκάσαντες ἅπαντας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον ἔξω οὔσαι. ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι πλείους ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.
- 26 ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἀκούων τὴν βοήθειαν ἤδη ἐν Σάμῳ οὔσαν, αὐτοῦ μὲν κατέλιπε πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ ἄρχοντα Ἑτεόνικον, ταῖς δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν ἀναχθεὶς ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρα ἀντίον τῆς
- 27 Μυτιλήνης. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δεῖπνοποιούμενοι ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις· αὐται δ' εἰσὶν
- 28 ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἰδὼν τὰ πυρά, καὶ τινων αὐτῷ ἐξαγγελιάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶεν, ἀνήγετο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ὥς ἐξαπιναίως προσπέσοι· ὕδωρ δ' ἐπιγενόμενον πολὺ καὶ βρονταὶ διεκώλυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχευ, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας.

BATTLE OF ARGINUSAE.

Callicratidas refuses to flee before the superior numbers of the Athenians. The fight begins; and when Callicratidas falls into the sea and is drowned, the Peloponnesians flee to Chios and Phocaea with a loss of 69 ships. The Athenians retire to Arginusae with a loss of 25 ships.

- 29 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντανήγοντο εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, παρατεταγμένοι ὦδε. Ἀριστοκράτης μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχων ἡγείτο πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα

Διομέδων ἑτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Ἀριστο- 406-405
 κράτει μὲν Περικλῆς, Διομέδοντι δὲ Ἑρασινίδης· παρὰ δὲ B.C.
 Διομέδοντα οἱ Σάμιοι δέκα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ μιᾷς τεταγμένοι·
 ἔστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Σάμιος ὀνόματι Ἴππεύς· ἐχόμεναι
 δ' αἱ τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα, καὶ αὐταὶ ἐπὶ μιᾷς· ἐπὶ δὲ
 ταύταις αἱ τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλαι ἦσαν
 συμμαχίδες. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν κέρας Πρωτόμαχος εἶχε πεν- 30
 τεκαίδεκα ναυσί· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν Θράσυλλος ἑτέραις πεν-
 τεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Πρωτομάχῳ μὲν Λυσίας, ἔχων
 τὰς Ἰσας ναῦς, Θρασύλλῳ δὲ Ἀριστογένης. οὕτω δ' 31
 ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν διδοίεν· χεῖρον γὰρ ἔπλεον.
 αἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντιτεταγμένοι ἦσαν ἅπασαι
 ἐπὶ μιᾷς ὥς πρὸς διέκπλουν καὶ περίπλουν παρεσκευασ-
 μέναι, διὰ τὸ βέλτιον πλεῖν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας
 Καλλικρατίδας. Ἑρμων δὲ Μεγαρεὺς ὁ τῷ Καλλικρα- 32
 τίδᾳ κυβερνῶν εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι εἴη καλῶς ἔχον ἀπο-
 πλεῦσαι· αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῷ πλείονες
 ἦσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν μὴ
 κάκιον οἰκείται αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος, φεύγειν δὲ αἰσχροὺς
 ἔφη εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμάχησαν χρόνον πολύν, 33
 πρῶτον μὲν ἀθρόαι, ἔπειτα δὲ διεσκευασμένοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 Καλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβαλούσης τῆς νεὸς ἀποπесῶν εἰς
 τὴν θάλατταν ἠφανίσθη Πρωτόμαχος τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ
 τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐνίκησαν, ἐντεῦθεν φυγὴ τῶν
 Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο εἰς Χίον, πλείστων δὲ καὶ εἰς
 Φώκαιαν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας
 κατέπλευσαν. ἀπώλουντο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆες 34
 πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων τῶν
 πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσενεχθέντων, τῶν δὲ Πελοποννησίων
 Λακωνικαὶ μὲν ἐννέα, τῶν πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δ'
 ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα.

106-405 B.C. *The Athenian generals commission Theramenes and other officers to rescue the crews of their sunken vessels with 47 vessels, while they themselves sail against Eteonicus at Mytilene. But both projects are prevented by a storm.*

35 Ἐδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ Θηραμένη τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον τριηράρχους ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὰς πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκυίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ' Ἐτεονίκου τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορμούσας. ταῦτα δὲ βουλομένους ποιεῖν ἄνεμος καὶ χειμῶν διεκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς μέγας γενόμενος· τρόπαιον δὲ στήσαντες αὐτοῦ ἠυλίζοντο.

Eteonicus, by spreading false news of a victory, succeeds in despatching his fleet to Chios, and in marching himself to Methymna.

36 Τῷ δ' Ἐτεονίκῳ ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλης πάντα ἐξήγγειλε τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι σιωπῇ ἐκπλεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ διαλέγεσθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ αὐθις πλεῖν εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ βοῶντας ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας νενίκηκε ναυμαχῶν καὶ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες ἀπολώλασιν
37 ἅπασαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν· αὐτὸς δ', ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι κατέπλεον, ἔθνε τὰ εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τὰ χρήματα σιωπῇ ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀποπλεῖν εἰς Χίον, ἣν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὖριον, καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὴν ταχίστην. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπήγευ εἰς τὴν Μήθυμναν, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσας.

*Conon meets the Athenian fleet with the news about Eteonicus. 406-405
The fleet sails to Mytilene, makes an attempt on Chios, and
finally returns to Samos. B.C.*

Κόνων δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναῦς, ἐπεὶ οἱ τε πολέμιοι 38
ἀπεδεδράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος εὐδαιότερος ἦν, ἀπαντήσας
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἀνηγμένοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀργινουσῶν
ἔφρασε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατέ-
πλευσαν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, ἐκείθεν δ' ἐπανήχθησαν
εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ οὐδὲν διαπραξάμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν
ἐπὶ Σάμον.

CHAPTER VII.

*The Athenian generals are replaced by ten others, Conon
alone being re-elected. Of the six who returned to Athens,
Erasinides is accused by Archdemus of corrupt practices,
and sentenced by the court to imprisonment.*

Οἱ δ' ἐν οἴκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔπαυσαν
πλὴν Κόνωνος· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ εἴλοντο Ἀδείμαντον καὶ
τρίτον Φιλοκλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν
Πρωτόμαχος μὲν καὶ Ἀριστογένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς
Ἀθήνας, τῶν δὲ ἕξ καταπλευσάντων, Περικλέους καὶ 2
Διομέδοντος καὶ Λυσίου καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Θρα-
σύλλου καὶ Ἐρασινίδου, Ἀρχέδημος ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε
προεστηκὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ τῆς διωβελίας ἐπιμελόμενος
Ἐρασινίδην ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν κατηγορεῖ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ,
φάσκων ἕξ Ἑλλησπόντου αὐτὸν ἔχειν χρήματα ὄντα τοῦ
δήμου· κατηγορεῖ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας. καὶ ἔδοξε
τῷ δικαστηρίῳ δῆσαι τὸν Ἐρασινίδην.

406-405 B.C. *The other generals also, after informing the Senate about the battle and the storm, are arrested by its order.*

- 3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διηγοῦντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ περὶ τε τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ χειμῶνος. Τιμοκράτους δ' εἰπόντος ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χρὴ δεθέντας εἰς τὸν δῆμον παραδοθῆναι, ἡ βουλὴ ἔδησε.

Before the Assembly Theramenes and others attack the generals for not having rescued the shipwrecked crews, alleging as evidence the official despatch.

- 4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾗ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγοροῦν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θηραμένης μάλιστα, δικαίους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχέιν διότι οὐκ ἀνείλουντο τοὺς ναυαγούς. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου καθήπτοντο ἐπιστολὴν ἐπεδείκνυ μαρτύριον ἣν ἔπεμψαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν βουλήν καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἄλλο οὐδὲν αἰτιώμενοι ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα.

In defence the generals recount the facts, bringing forward some of the sailors as witnesses.

- 5 Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ βραχέως ἕκαστος ἀπελογήσατο, οὐ γὰρ προυτέθη σφίσι λόγος κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα διηγοῦντο, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέοιεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προστάξειαν τῶν τριηράρχων ἀνδράσιν ἱκανοῖς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκόσιν ἤδη, Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις· καὶ εἶπερ γέ τινας δέοι, περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως οὐδένα ἄλλον ἔχειν αὐτοὺς αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ τούτους οἷς προσετάχθη. καὶ οὐχ ὅτι γε κατηγοροῦσιν ἡμῶν, ἔφασαν, ψευσόμεθα φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ χειμῶνος εἶναι τὸ κωλύσαν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρας παρείχοντο τοὺς κυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν συμπλεόντων πολλούς.

The defence is favourably received, but, it being dark, the assembly adjourns without a vote being taken, after commissioning the Senate to bring forward a proposal as to the procedure of the trial. 406-405 B.C.

Τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἔπειθον τὸν δῆμον· ἐβούλοντο δὲ 7
πολλοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐγγυᾶσθαι ἀνιστάμενοι· ἔδοξε δὲ
ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς ἑτέραν ἐκκλησίαν· τότε γὰρ ὅψε ἦν καὶ
τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἂν καθεώρων· τὴν δὲ βουλὴν προβουλεύ-
σασαν εἰσενεγκεῖν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ οἱ ἄνδρες κρίνονται.

Theramenes avails himself of the Apaturia to excite the Athenians against the accused.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο Ἀπατούρια, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε 8
πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν 406 Nov.
περὶ τὸν Θηραμένη παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους μέλανα
ἱμάτια ἔχοντας καὶ ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένους πολλοὺς ἐν
ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἦκοιεν, ὥς δὴ
συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καὶ Καλλίξενον ἔπει-
σαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορεῖν τῶν στρατηγῶν.

At the second meeting of the Assembly Callixenus introduces the proposal of the Senate, that the people should decide, without further hearing, upon all the accused at once by a single vote.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποιοῦν, εἰς ἣν ἡ βουλὴ εἰσήνεγκε 9
τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλιξένου εἰπόντος τήνδε· Ἐπειδὴ
τῶν τε κατηγορούντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐκείνων
ἀπολογουμένων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκηκόασι, διαψη-
φίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους ἅπαντας κατὰ φυλάς· θείναι δὲ εἰς

They decide by a single vote.

- 408-405 B.C. τὴν φυλὴν ἐκάστην δύο ὑδρίας· ἐφ' ἐκάστη δὲ τῇ φυλῇ κήρυκα κηρύττειν, ὅτῳ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, εἰς τὴν 10 προτέραν ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτῳ δὲ μή, εἰς τὴν ὑστέραν· ἂν δὲ δόξωσιν ἀδικεῖν, θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι καὶ τοῖς ἔνδεκα παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημοσιεῦσαι, τὸ δ' ἐπιδέκατον τῆς 11 θεοῦ εἶναι. παρήλθε δέ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκων ἐπὶ τεύχους ἀλφίτων σωθῆναι· ἐπιστέλλειν δ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους, ἐὰν σωθῇ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνείλουντο τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γενομένους.

Euryptolemus and others threaten to indict Callixenus' proposal as unconstitutional, but are compelled to withdraw their threat.

- 12 Τὸν δὲ Καλλίξενον προσεκαλέσαντο παράνομα φάσκοντες γεγραφέναι Εὐρυπτόλεμός τε ὁ Πεισιάνакτος καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἔνιοι ταῦτα ἐπῆνον, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐβόα δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ μή τις ἐάσει τὸν δῆμον 13 πράττειν ὃ ἂν βούληται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος Λυκίσκου καὶ τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι ἥπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐὰν μὴ ἀφῶσι τὴν κλήσιν, ἐπέθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀφιέναι τὰς κλήσεις.

The Prytanes refuse to put the question to the vote, but are all frightened into submission except Socrates.

- 14 Τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων τινων οὐ φασκόντων προθήσειν τὴν διαψήφισιν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, αὐθις Καλλίξενος ἀναβὰς κατηγορεῖ αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά. οἱ δὲ ἐβόων καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ 15 φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες ὡμολόγουν πάντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου· οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ νόμον πάντα ποιήσειν.

SPEECH OF EURYPTOLEMUS.

408-405
B.C.

'Pericles and Diomedon were chiefly to blame, because they had persuaded their colleagues not to mention in their despatch the orders they had given to Theramenes and others to rescue the crews.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔλεξεν ὑπὲρ τῶν 16
στρατηγῶν τάδε.

Τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσων, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνέβην
ἐνθάδε Περικλέους ἀναγκαίου μοι ὄντος καὶ ἐπιτηδείου
καὶ Διομέδοντος φίλου, τὰ δ' ὑπεραπολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ
συμβουλεύσων ἃ μοι δοκεῖ ἄριστα εἶναι ἀπάσῃ τῇ πόλει.
κατηγορῶ μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ὅτι ἔπεισαν τοὺς συνάρχοντας 17
βουλομένους πέμπειν γράμματα τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ ὑμῖν ὅτι
ἐπέταξαν τῷ Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τετταράκοντα
καὶ ἑπτὰ τριήρεσιν ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς ναυαγούς, οἱ δὲ οὐκ
ἀνείλουντο. εἴτα νῦν τὴν αἰτίαν κοινὴν ἔχουσιν ἐκείνων 18
ἰδίᾳ ἁμαρτύντων, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς τότε φιλανθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ'
ἐκείνων τε καὶ τινων ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενοι κινδυνεύ-
ουσιν ἀπολέσθαι.

'Two courses were open to the Athenians: the generals might be tried, either before the assembly according to the decree of Cannonus, or before a court according to the law against sacrilege and treason.

Οὐκ ἂν ὑμεῖς γέ μοι πείθησθε τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὅσια 19
ποιοῦντες, καὶ ὅθεν μάλιστα τάληθῇ πεύσεσθε καὶ οὐ
μετανοήσαντες ὕστερον εὐρήσετε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτη-
κότας τὰ μέγιστα εἰς θεοὺς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. συμ-
βουλεύω δ' ὑμῖν, ἐν οἷς οὐθ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὐθ' ὑπ' ἄλλον
οὐδενὸς ἔστιν ἐξαπατηθῆναι ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας
εἰδότες κολάσεσθε ἢ ἂν βούλησθε δίκη, καὶ ἅμα πάντας
καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον, εἰ μὴ πλέον, ἀλλὰ μίαν ἡμέραν

- 408-405 δόντες αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογήσασθαι, μὴ ἄλλοις
 B.C.
 20 μᾶλλον πιστεύοντες ἢ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. ἵστε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντες ὅτι τὸ Κανωνοῦ ψήφισμά ἐστὶν
 ἰσχυρότατον, ὃ κελεύει, ἔάν τις τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον
 ἀδικῇ, δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἔαν κατα-
 γνωσθῇ ἀδικεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα,
 τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημευθῆναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέ-
 21 κατον εἶναι. κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι
 τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ νῆ Δία, ἃν ὑμῖν γε δοκῇ, πρῶτον
 Περικλέα τὸν ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν γάρ μοί ἐστιν
 ἐκείνου περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἢ τὴν ὅλην πόλιν.
 22 τοῦτο δ' εἰ βούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίνατε, ὅς
 ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ προδόταις, ἔάν τις ἢ τὴν
 πόλιν προδιδῷ ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτῃ, κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ,
 ἂν καταγνωσθῇ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα
 αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι.

*‘But in either case they ought to be tried fairly and separately.
 Undue haste ought to be avoided, especially in the case of
 generals who had deserved so well of their country.*

- 23 Τούτων ὁποτέρῳ βούλεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ
 νόμῳ κρινέσθων οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ ἕνα ἕκαστον διηρημένων
 τῆς ἡμέρας τριῶν μερῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν ἐν ᾧ συλλέγεσθαι
 ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι, ἔαν τε ἀδικεῖν δοκῶσιν ἔαν
 τε μή, ἑτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ κατηγορῆσαι, ἑτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ
 24 ἀπολογήσασθαι. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων οἱ μὲν ἀδικοῦντες
 τεύξονται τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας, οἱ δ' ἀναίτιοι ἐλευθε-
 ρωθήσονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀδικοῦντες
 25 ἀπολοῦνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβοῦντες καὶ
 εὐορκοῦντες κρινεῖτε καὶ οὐ συμπολεμήσετε Λακεδαιμο-
 νίοις τοὺς ἐκείνους ἐβδομήκοντα ναῦς ἀφελομένους καὶ
 νενικηκότας, τούτους ἀπολλύντες ἀκρίτους παρὰ τὸν

νόμον. τί δὲ καὶ δεδιότες σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπείγεσθε ; ἢ 408-405
 μὴ οὐχ ὑμεῖς ὃν ἂν βούλησθε ἀποκτείνητε καὶ ἐλευθερώ- B.C.
 σητε, ἂν κατὰ τὸν νόμον κρίνητε, ἀλλ' οὐκ, ἂν παρὰ τὸν 26
 νόμον, ὥσπερ Καλλίξενος τὴν βουλὴν ἔπεισεν εἰς τὸν
 δῆμον εἰσενεγκεῖν μιᾷ ψήφῳ ; ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν τινα καὶ οὐκ 27
 αἴτιον ὄντα ἀποκτείναιτε, μεταμελήσαι δὲ ὕστερον ἀνα-
 μνήσθητε ὥς ἀλγεινὸν καὶ ἀνωφελὲς ἤδη ἐστί, πρὸς δ' ἔτι
 καὶ περὶ θανάτου ἀνθρώπου ἡμαρτηκότες. δεινὰ δ' ἂν 28
 ποιήσαιτε, εἰ Ἀριστάρχῳ μὲν πρότερον τὸν δῆμον κατα-
 λύουσι, εἴτα δὲ Οἰνόην προδιδόντι Θηβαίοις πολεμίοις
 οὖσιν, ἔδοτε ἡμέραν ἀπολογήσασθαι ἢ ἐβούλετο καὶ
 τᾶλλα κατὰ τὸν νόμον προύθετε, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς τοὺς
 πάντα ὑμῖν κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντας, νικήσαντας δὲ τοὺς
 πολεμίους, τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἀποστερήσετε. μὴ ὑμεῖς 29
 γε, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' ἐαυτῶν ὄντας τοὺς νόμους, δι' οὓς
 μάλιστα μέγιστοί ἐστε, φυλάττοντες, ἄνευ τούτων μηδὲν
 πράττειν πειρᾶσθε.

'To return to the facts : Diomedon proposed to rescue the crews, Erasinides to sail against the enemy, Thrasyllus to do both by dividing the fleet.

Ἐπανέλθετε δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα καθ' ἃ καὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι δοκοῦσι γεγενῆσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέπλευσαν, Διομέδων μὲν ἐκέλευεν ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ κέρως ἅπαντας ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὰ ναύαγια καὶ τοὺς ναυαγούς, Ἐρασινίδης δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς Μυτιλήνην πολεμίους τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν ἅπαντας. Θράσυλλος δὲ ἀμφότερα ἔφη γενέσθαι, ἂν τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλίπωσι, ταῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέωσι.

406-405 B.C. 'According to Thrasyllus' proposal 47 vessels were told off to rescue the crews, and the rest were to sail against the enemy, but the storm prevented both projects. Many survivors would witness to the truth of this.

- 30 Καὶ δοξάντων τούτων καταλιπεῖν τρεῖς ναῦς ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμμορίας, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅκτῳ ὄντων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα καὶ τὰς Σαμίων δέκα καὶ τὰς τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς· αὗται ἅπασαι γίνονται ἑπτὰ καὶ τετταράκοντα, τέτταρες περὶ ἑκάστην ναῦν τῶν ἀπολω-
- 31 λυῖν δώδεκα οὐσῶν. τῶν δὲ καταλειφθέντων τριηράρχων ἦσαν καὶ Θρασύβουλος καὶ Θηραμένης, ὃς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ κατηγορεῖ τῶν στρατηγῶν. ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὰς πολεμίας. τί τούτων οὐχ ἱκανῶς καὶ καλῶς ἔπραξαν; οὐκοῦν δίκαιον τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ καλῶς πραχθέντα τοὺς πρὸς τούτους ταχθέντας ὑπέχειν λόγον, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, μὴ ποιήσαντας ἃ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκέλευσαν, διότι οὐκ ἀνείλυντο
- 32 κρίνεσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὅτι ὁ χειμῶν διεκώλυσε μηδὲν πρᾶξαι ὧν οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρεκελεύσαντο. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, ὧν εἷς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ καταδύσης νεὼς διασωθείς, ὃν κελεύουσι τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν τότε δεόμενον ἀναιρέσεως, ἥπερ τοὺς οὐ πράξαντας τὰ προσταχθέντα.

'On all grounds therefore the generals ought to be acquitted.'

- 33 Μὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὅμοια ποιήσητε τοῖς ἡττημένοις τε καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων ἀγνωμονεῖν δόξητε, προδοσίαν καταγνόντες ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας, οὐχ ἱκανοὺς γενομένους διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα πρᾶξαι τὰ προσταχθέντα· ἀλλὰ πολὺ δικαιότερον στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τοὺς

νικῶντας ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις πειθο- 408-405
μένους. B.C.

At first the people accept Euryptolemus' proposal to try the generals separately, according to the decree of Cannonus; but at a second vote the Senate's proposal is preferred, and the eight generals are condemned and six of them executed. Not long afterwards the people repent of the injustice.

Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔγραψε γνώμην κατὰ τὸ 34
Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δίχα ἕκαστον·
ἡ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἦν μιᾷ ψήφῳ ἅπαντας κρίνειν. τούτων
δὲ διαχειροτουμένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκριναν τὴν
Εὐρυπτολέμου ὑπομοσάμενον δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ πάλιν
διαχειροτουίας γενομένης ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων στρατη-
γῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων· ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες ἕξ. καὶ οὐ 35
πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετέμελε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ
ἐψηφίσαντο, οἵτινες τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν, προβολὰς
αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἐγγυητὰς καταστήσαι, ἕως ἂν κριθῶσιν,
εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξενον τούτων. προυβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ
ἄλλοι τέτταρες, καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων.
ὕστερον δὲ στάσεώς τινος γενομένης, ἐν ᾗ Κλεοφῶν
ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὗτοι, πρὶν κριθῆναι· Καλλίξενος
δὲ κατελθὼν ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μισού-
μενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

406-405 B.C. *The Peloponnesian soldiers at Chios, hard pressed by want, form a plan to sack the city. Eteonicus discovers the plot, and by prompt measures puts it down. He asks and obtains from the Chians a contribution of money.*

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Χίῳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἑτεονίκου στρατιῶται
 ὄντες, ἕως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὥρας ἐτρέφοντο καὶ
 406 Oct. ἐργαζόμενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ χειμῶν
 ἐγένετο καὶ τροφὴν οὐκ εἶχον γυμνοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀνυ-
 πόδητοι, συνίσταντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνετίθεντο ὥς τῇ
 Χίῳ ἐπιθησόμενοι· οἷς δὲ ταῦτα ἀρέσκοι κάλαμον φέ-
 2 ρειν ἐδόκει, ἵνα ἀλλήλους μάθοιεν ὅποσοι εἶησαν. πυ-
 θόμενος δὲ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ Ἑτεόνικος, ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχε
 τί χρῶτο τῷ πράγματι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καλαμηφόρων·
 τό τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπιχειρήσαι σφαλερὸν ἐδόκει
 εἶναι, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ὀρμήσωσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατα-
 σχόντες καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι ἀπολέσωσι πάντα τὰ
 πράγματα, ἂν κρατήσωσι, τό τ' αὖ ἀπολλύναι ἀνθρώπους
 συμμάχους πολλοὺς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, μή τινα καὶ
 εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας διαβολὴν σχοίεν καὶ οἱ στρα-
 3 τιῶται δύσνοι πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ᾧσιν· ἀναλαβὼν δὲ
 μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἄνδρας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας
 ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐντυχὼν τινι ὀφθαλ-
 μίωντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπιόντι ἐξ ἰατρείου, κάλαμον ἔχοντι,
 4 ἀπέκτεινε. θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ ἐρωτῶντων τινῶν
 διὰ τί ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν ὁ

Ἐτεόνικος, ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον εἶχε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραγ- 406-405
 γελίαν ἐρρίπτουν πάντες ὅσοι εἶχον τοὺς καλάμους, ἀεὶ B.C.
 ὁ ἀκούων δεδιὼς μὴ ὀφθεῖν ἔχων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ 5
 Ἐτεόνικος συγκαλέσας τοὺς Χίους χρήματα ἐκέλευσε
 συνενεγκεῖν, ὅπως οἱ ναῦται λάβωσι μισθὸν καὶ μὴ
 νεωτερίσωσί τι· οἱ δὲ εἰσήνεγκαν· ἅμα δὲ εἰς τὰς ναῦς
 ἐσήμηνεν εἰσβαίνειν· προσιὼν δὲ ἐν μέρει παρ' ἐκάστην
 ναῦν παρεθάρρυνέ τε καὶ παρήνει πολλά, ὥς τοῦ γεγεννη-
 μένου οὐδὲν εἰδώς, καὶ μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ μηνὸς διέδωκε.

*On the appeal of her Asiatic allies, supported by envoys from
 Cyrus, Sparta appoints Lysander to be secretary and
 Aracus to be admiral of the fleet.*

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι συλ- 6
 λεγόντες εἰς Ἐφεσον ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκό-
 των πραγμάτων πέμπειν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ταῦτά
 τε ἐροῦντας καὶ Λύσανδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, εὖ
 φερόμενον παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ναυαρ-
 χίαν, ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν. καὶ ἀπε- 7
 πέμφθησαν πρέσβεις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κύρου ταῦτα.
 λέγοντες ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδοσαν τὸν Λύ-
 σανδρον ὥς ἐπιστολέα, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἀρακον· οὐ γὰρ
 νόμος αὐτοῖς δις τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν· τὰς μέντοι ναῦς
 παρέδωσαν Λυσάνδρῳ [ἐτῶν ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ πέντε καὶ
 εἴκοσι παρεληλυθότων].

*Cyrus, having put Autoboesaces and Mitraeus to death, is
 summoned before Darius to answer for his conduct.*

Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν Αὐτοβοι- 8
 σάκην καὶ Μιτραῖον, υἱεῖς ὄντας τῆς Δαριαίου ἀδελφῆς
 [τῆς τοῦ Ξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου πατρός], ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπαν-
 τῶντες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς χεῖρας, ὃ ποιούσι

406-405 βασιλεῖ μόνον· ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἢ χειρὶς, ἐν
 B.C. ἧ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων οὐδὲν ἂν δύναιτο ποιῆσαι. Ἱεραμένης
 9 μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔλεγον πρὸς Δαριαῖον δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ
 περιόψεται τὴν λίαν ὕβριν τούτου· ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν μετα-
 πέμπεται ὡς ἄρρωστων, πέμψας ἀγγέλους.

Lysander, on his arrival at Ephesus, collects all the ships he can from Chios, Antandros, and elsewhere, gets a fresh supply of money from Cyrus, and refits his fleet. The Athenians make similar preparations at Samos.

10 Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει [ἐπὶ Ἀρχύτα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος,
 405-404 ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀλεξίου,] Λύσανδρος ἀφικόμε-
 B.C. νος εἰς Ἐφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἑτεόνικον ἐκ Χίου σὺν ταῖς
 ναυσί, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας συνήθροισεν, εἰ ποῦ τις ἦν,
 καὶ ταύτας τ' ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐναυ-
 11 πηγείτο. ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον χρήματα ᾗτει· ὁ δ' αὐτῷ
 εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλωμένα εἴη, καὶ ἔτι
 πλείω πολλῶ, δεικνύων ὅσα ἕκαστος τῶν ναυάρχων ἔχοι,
 12 ὅμως δ' ἔδωκε. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰργύριον, ἐπὶ
 τὰς τριῆρεις τριηράρχους ἐπέστησε καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τὸν
 ὀφειλόμενον μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ
 οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ πρὸς τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ
 Σάμῳ.

Cyrus, before going up to his father in Media, leaves Lysander in charge of all the tribute of his satrapy, and warns him against fighting with the Athenians.

13 Κῦρος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μετεπέμψατο Λύσανδρον, ἐπεὶ
 αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι ἄρρωστων
 ἐκείνον καλοίη, ὣν ἐν Θαμνηρίοις τῆς Μηδείας ἐγγὺς
 14 Καδουσίῳ, ἐφ' οὓς ἐστράτευσεν ἀφεστῶτας. ἤκοντα δὲ
 Λύσανδρον οὐκ εἶα ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, εἰ μὴ

πολλῷ πλείους ναῦς ἔχῃ· εἶναι γὰρ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ 405-404
 βασιλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ, ὥστε τούτου ἔνεκεν πολλὰς πληροῦν. B.C.
 παρέδειξε δ' αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς φόρους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων,
 οἱ αὐτῷ ἴδιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα ἔδωκε· καὶ
 ἀναμνήσας ὥς εἶχε φιλίας πρὸς τε τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
 πόλιν καὶ πρὸς Λύσανδρον ἰδίᾳ, ἀνέβαινε παρὰ τὸν
 πατέρα.

*Lysander takes Cedreia in Caria by storm, and then sets out
 for Rhodes. The Athenians sail to Chios and Ephesus,
 and choose three additional generals.*

Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ Κῦρος πάντα παραδούς τὰ 15
 αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἄρρωστοῦντα μετάπεμπτος ἀνέ-
 βαινε, μισθὸν διαδούς τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀνήχθη τῆς Καρίας
 εἰς τὸν Κεράμειον κόλπον. καὶ προσβαλὼν πόλει
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμάχῳ ὄνομα Κεδρεΐαις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
 προσβολῇ κατὰ κράτος αἶρεϊ καὶ ἐξηνδραπόδισεν. ἦσαν
 δὲ μισοβάρβαροι οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες. ἐκείθεν δ' ἀπέπλευσεν
 εἰς Ῥόδον. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ὁρμώμενοι 16
 τὴν βασιλέως κακῶς ἐποιοῦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον καὶ τὴν
 Ἐφεσον ἐπέπλεον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν,
 καὶ στρατηγούς πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι προσείλοντο Μέ-
 νανδρον, Τυδέα, Κηφισόδοτον.

*Lysander sails past Ionia to the Hellespont. The Athenians
 put out to sea from Chios.*

Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου παρὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐκπλεῖ 17
 πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον πρὸς τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἑκπλουν
 καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφεστηκυίας αὐτῶν πόλεις. ἀνήγοντο δὲ καὶ
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Χίου πελάγιοι. ἡ γὰρ Ἀσία πολεμία
 αὐτοῖς ἦν.

405-404 B.C. *Lysander takes Lampsacus by storm. The Athenians, 180 strong, sail in pursuit, first to Elaeus, then to Sestos, where they anchor off Aegospotami, opposite Lampsacus, and offer battle.*

- 18 Λύσανδρος δ' ἐξ Ἀβύδου παρέπλει εἰς Λάμψακον σύμμαχον οὔσαν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ οἱ Ἀβυδηνοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρῆσαν περὶ ἧς ἡγεῖτο δὲ Θώραξ Λακεδαιμόνιος.
- 19 προσβαλόντες δὲ τῇ πόλει αἰροῦσι κατὰ κράτος, καὶ διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται οὔσαν πλουσίαν καὶ οἶνον καὶ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πλήρη· τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα
- 20 σώματα πάντα ἀφῆκε Λύσανδρος. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας πλέοντες ὠρμίσαντο τῆς Χερρονήσου ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι ναυσὶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀριστοποιούμενοις αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Λάμψακον, καὶ
- 21 εὐθὺς ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σηστόν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ἀντίον τῆς Λαμψάκου· διέχει δ' ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ταύτῃ σταδίους ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐδειπνοποιούντο.

For four days they try in vain to draw Lysander out of his harbour. Alcibiades points out to them the disadvantages of their position, but their generals scorn his advice and refuse to move.

- 22 Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί, ἐπεὶ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιησαμένους εἰσβαίνειν, πάντα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰ παραβλήματα παραβαλὼν, προεῖπεν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο ἐκ τῆς
- 23 τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξοιτο. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι παρετάξαντο ἐν μετώπῳ ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε Λύσανδρος, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὀψὲς ἦν, ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Αἰγὸς ποτα-
- 24 μούς. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχίστας τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν

ἔπεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐκβῶσι, κατιδόντας 405-404
 ὃ τι ποιούσιν ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξαγγείλαι. καὶ οὐ B.C.
 πρότερον ἐξεβίβασεν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὶν αὐται ἤκον.
 ταῦτα δ' ἐποίει τέτταρας ἡμέρας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπανή-
 γοντο. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν 25
 Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὁρμοῦντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει,
 τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιόντας πεντεκαίδεκα στα-
 δίους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν λιμένι καὶ
 πρὸς πόλει ἔχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς
 ὁρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μεθορμίσαι εἰς Σηστόν παρήνει πρὸς τε
 λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν· οὗ ὄντες ναυμαχήσετε, ἔφη, ὅταν
 βούλησθε. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοί, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ 26
 Μένανδρος, ἀπιέναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν
 στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκείνουν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥχετο.

BATTLE OF AEGOSPOTAMI.

On the fifth day, at a given signal from his scouts, Lysander suddenly rows across the strait with his whole fleet, and surprises the Athenians while they are scattered along the shore obtaining provisions. He captures without a blow the entire Athenian fleet, except Conon's squadron and the Paralus, and most of the crews.

Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέονσι τοῖς 27
 Ἀθηναίοις, εἶπε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις, ἐπὴν κατίδω-
 σιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τὴν
 Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ ἐποιοῦν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ' ἐκάστην
 ἡμέραν, τὰ τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὠνούμενοι καὶ καταφρο-
 νοῦντες δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀντανήγεν, ἀποπλέοντας
 τοῦμπαλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἄραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν.
 οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὥς ἐκέλευσε. Λύσανδρος δ' εὐθὺς 28
 ἐσήμηνε τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν· συμπαρήει δὲ καὶ Θώραξ
 τὸ πεζὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν ἐπίπλουν, ἐσήμηνεν
 εἰς τὰς ναῦς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος. διεσκεδασμένων δὲ

405-404 B.C. τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ
 μονόκροτοι, αἱ δὲ παντελῶς κεναί· ἡ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ
 ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπτὰ πλήρεις ἀνήχθησαν ἀθρόαι καὶ ἡ
 Πάραλος, τὰς δ' ἄλλας πάσας Λύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ
 γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν· οἱ
 δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ τειχύδρια.

Conon escapes to Cyprus. The Paralus carries the news to Athens. Lysander brings his prisoners to Lampsacus, and sends Theopompus to Sparta to announce his victory.

- 29 Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατασχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν
 Ἀβαρνίδα τὴν Λαμψάκου ἄκραν ἔλαβεν αὐτόθεν τὰ
 μεγάλα τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν ἱστία, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὀκτὼ
 ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσε παρ' Εὐαγόραν εἰς Κύπρον, ἡ δὲ
 Πάραλος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀπαγγελοῦσα τὰ γεγονότα.
- 30 Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τᾶλλα
 πάντα εἰς Λάμψακον ἀπήγαγεν, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατη-
 γῶν ἄλλους τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ Ἀδείμαντον. ἡ δ' ἡμέρα
 ταῦτα κατειργάσατο, ἔπεμψε Θεόπομπον τὸν Μιλήσιον
 ληστὴν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπαγγελοῦντα τὰ γεγονότα, ὃς
 ἀφικόμενος τριταῖος ἀπήγγειλε.

Lysander summons a meeting of his allies at Lampsacus at which they make many complaints of Athenian cruelty. In revenge he executes all the Athenians among his captives, except the general Adimantus.

- 31 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρος ἀθροίσας τοὺς συμμάχους
 ἐκέλευσε βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἐνταῦθα δὲ
 κατηγορίαι ἐγίνοντο πολλαὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἃ τε ἤδη
 παρενενομήκεσαν καὶ ἃ ἐψηφισμένοι ἦσαν ποιεῖν, εἰ
 κρατήσειαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἀποκόπτειν

τῶν ζωγρηθέντων πάντων, καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες δύο τριήρεις, 405-404
 Κορινθίαν καὶ Ἀνδρίαν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντας B.C.
 κατακρημνίσειαν· Φιλοκλῆς δ' ἦν στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίων, ὃς τούτους διέφθειρεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, 32
 καὶ ἔδοξεν ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσοι ἦσαν Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι πλὴν Ἀδειμάντου, ὅτι μόνος ἐπελάβετο ἐν τῇ ἐκ-
 κλησίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῶν χειρῶν ψηφίσματος·
 ἡτιάθη μέντοι ὑπὸ τινων προδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς. Λύσανδρος
 δὲ Φιλοκλέα πρῶτον ἐρωτήσας, ὃς τοὺς Ἀνδρίους καὶ
 Κορινθίους κατεκρήμνισε, τί εἴη ἄξιος παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος
 εἰς Ἑλλήνας παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν.

CHAPTER II.

Byzantium and Chalcedon submit to Lysander, who sends the Athenian garrisons in them and elsewhere back to Athens, hoping thereby the sooner to reduce the city to starvation.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῳ κατεστήσατο, ἔπλει ἐπὶ
 τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνα. οἱ δ' αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχοντο,
 τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀφέντες. οἱ
 δὲ προδόντες Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τὸ Βυζάντιον τότε μὲν ἔφυγον
 εἰς τὸν Πόντον, ὕστερον δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐγένοντο
 Ἀθηναῖοι. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοὺς τε φρουροὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων 2
 καὶ εἴ τινα που ἄλλον ἴδοι Ἀθηναῖον, ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς
 Ἀθήνας, διδοὺς ἐκεῖσε μόνον πλέουσιν ἀσφάλειαν, ἄλλοσε
 δ' οὐ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους συλλεγῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ
 καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, θάπτον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔνδειαν ἔσεσθαι.
 καταλιπὼν δὲ Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνος Σθενέλαον

405-404 ἄρμοστὴν Λάκωνα, αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Λάμψακον τὰς
B.C. ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζεν.

The Athenians, on hearing of their disaster, reflecting that the vengeance they had taken on many subject states was about to return upon their own heads, resolve to prepare the city for a siege.

- 3 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς ἐλέγετο ἡ συμφορά, καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστὺ διῆκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ παραγγέλλων· ὥστ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτούς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίου τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ Ἰστιαίας καὶ Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορωναίους
4 καὶ Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδοξε τοὺς τε λιμένας ἀποχωῶσαι πλὴν ἑνὸς καὶ τὰ τείχη εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐφιστάναι καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὥς εἰς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν.

Lysander sails to Lesbos, where he reorganizes the governments of the several states, and despatches Eteonicus to do the same in Thrace. All the Athenian allies revolt, except the Samians.

- 5 Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίαις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον κατεσκευάσατο τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνῃ· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἔπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις ἔχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ὃς τὰ
6 ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυ-

μαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων· οὗτοι δὲ σφαγὰς τῶν γνωρίμων 405-404
ποιήσαντες κατεΐχον τὴν πόλιν. B.C.

Simultaneously the Spartans and their allies under king Pausanias invade Attica and encamp in the Academy, and Lysander, having restored Aegina and Melos to their exiled citizens, blockades Piraeus.

Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀγίν τε εἰς 7
Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν διακο-
σίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἐξῆσαν πανδημεὶ καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος
τοῦ ἑτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως Πανσανίου. ἐπεὶ 8
δ' ἅπαντες ἠθροίσθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν
πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ [τῷ καλουμένῳ
γυμνασίῳ]. Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγινα ἀπέ- 9
δωκε τὴν πόλιν Αἰγινήταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους
αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας, ὥς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ Μηλίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστέρουντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηρώσας Σαλα-
μίνα ὠρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ
ἐκατόν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἶργε τοῦ εἴσπλου.

The Athenians maintain an obstinate resistance till all their corn fails; then they send envoys to Agis with offers of an alliance, but he refers them to the Ephors at Sparta; by whom, however, they are refused permission to enter the country.

Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ 10
θάλατταν ἠπόρουν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμ-
μάχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δὲ οὐδεμίαν
εἶναι σωτηρίαν μὴ παθεῖν ἢ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν
ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἠδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας
οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ αἰτία ἑτέρα ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν. διὰ 11
ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες ἐκατέρουν, καὶ

405-404

B.C.

- ἀποθνησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῶ πολλῶν οὐ διελέγοντο
 περὶ διαλλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἤδη ὁ σῆτος ἐπελε-
 λοίπει, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀγιν, βουλόμενοι σύμ-
 μαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντες τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν
 12 Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ
 αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι
κύριος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα
 13 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. οἱ δ'
 ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ [πλησίον] τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ
 ἐπύθοντο οἱ ἔφοροι αὐτῶν ἃ ἔλεγον, ὄντα οἰάπερ καὶ πρὸς
 Ἀγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἴ τι δέονται
 14 εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἦκειν βουλευσαμένους. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις
 ἐπεὶ ἦκου οἴκαδε καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν,
 ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· ᾤοντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθῆσθαι,
 καὶ ἔως ἂν πέμπωσιν ἑτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ
 λιμῶ ἀπολείσθαι.

*Still they will not hear of demolishing their Long Walls, and
 even arrest Archestratus for making such a proposal.*

- 15 Περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο
συμβουλευεῖν· Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ
 Λακεδαιμονίοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προυκαλοῦντο
 εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη· προυκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν
 τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἑκατέρου· ἐγένετο δὲ
 ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων συμβουλευεῖν.

*Theramenes procures his own despatch to negotiate with
 Lysander, but after waiting more than three months returns
 with the information, that the Ephors alone had power to
 make peace. However he and nine others are chosen as
 plenipotentiaries and sent to Sparta.*

- 16 Τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι
 εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἥξει

Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν 405-404
 βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἢ πίστεως ἔνεκα. B.C.
 πεμφθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ
 πλέον, ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον διὰ τὸ ἐπιλε-
 λοιπέναι τὸν σῖτον ἅπαντα ὅ,τι τις λέγοι ὁμολογήσειν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τετάρτῳ μηνί, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι 17
 αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχοι, εἴτα κελεύει εἰς
 Λακεδαίμονα ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὧν ἐρωτῶτο ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ἤρέθη πρεσβευ-
 τῆς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός. Λύσαν- 18
 δρος δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἔπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ' ἄλλων
 Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀριστοτέλη, φυγάδα Ἀθηναίων ὄντα, ὅτι
 ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει ἐκείνους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρήνης
 καὶ πολέμου.

*An audience is given to them at Sparta, where many accusa-
 tions are brought against the Athenians, especially by the
 Corinthians and Thebans; but the Spartans refuse to
 destroy Athens utterly, and offer terms of peace.*

Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν 19
 Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτῶμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ ἤκοιεν εἶπον ὅτι
 αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης, μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καλεῖν
 ἐκέλευον αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν
 ἣ ἠντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ
 καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις,
 ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεῖν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν 20
 Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδεῖν μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν
 τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ'
 ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην ἐφ' ᾧ τά τε μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πει-
 ραιᾶ καθελόντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας
 καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον

*Similar terms to those
 demanded at Athens*

- 405-404 B.C. νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται.

The Athenians, notwithstanding the remonstrances of a few, readily accept the terms offered.

- 21 Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπανάφερον ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὄχλος περιεχείτο πολὺς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοι ἦκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης, λέγων ὥς χρή πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τεῖχη περιαιρεῖν. ἀντειπόντων δέ τινων αὐτῷ, πολὺ δὲ πλειόνων συνεπαινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην.

Lysander and the exiles enter Piraeus and begin the destruction of the Long Walls, celebrating the first day of Greek Freedom.

- 23 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατήσαν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

Contemporary events in Sicily.

- 24 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ μεσοῦντι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἑρμοκράτους Συρακόσιος ἐτυράνησε, μάχη μὲν πρότερον ἡττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδονίων, σπάνει δὲ σίτου ἐλόντων Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Σικελιωτῶν τὴν πόλιν.

CHAPTER III.

404-403
B.C.

The Athenians appoint Thirty men to draw up a new constitution, whereupon Lysander sails to Samos, and Agis withdraws from Decelea.

Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει [ὧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ἥ τὸ στάδιον ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Θετταλός, Εὐδίκου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύοντος, Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἦρέθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλοῦσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ὧδε.] ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ τοὺς 2 πατέρας νόμους συγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσουσι. καὶ ἠρέθησαν οἷδε, Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἴππόλοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἰέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηραμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαιρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος, Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς, Θεόγνις, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φεῖδων, Δρακουντίδης, Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἴππόμαχος, Μνησιθείδης. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπέπλει Λύ- 3 σανδρος πρὸς Σάμον, Ἄγισ δ' ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστους.

Contemporary events in Thessaly and Sicily.

Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν περὶ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν Λυκό- 4 φρων ὁ Φεραῖος, βουλόμενος ἄρξαι ὅλης τῆς Θετταλίας, 404 Sept. τοὺς ἐναντιομένους αὐτῷ τῶν Θετταλῶν, Λαρισαίους τε καὶ ἄλλους, μάχῃ ἐνίκησε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακόσιος 5 τύραννος μάχῃ ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων Γέλαν καὶ Καμάριναν ἀπώλεσε. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ Λεοντῖνοι Συρακοσίους συννοικοῦντες ἀπέστησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν

404-408 πόλιν ἀπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ Συρακοσίων. παραχρῆμα δὲ
 B.C. καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἱππεῖς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου εἰς Κατάνην
 ἀπεστάλησαν.

Samos surrenders at discretion. Lysander, after reorganizing the government, dismisses the allied fleet, and at the head of the Lacedaemonian ships returns to Sparta in triumph with all the spoils of war.

- 6 Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου πάντη, ἐπεὶ οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖν προσβάλλειν ἤδη ἔμελλεν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὡμολόγησαν ἐν ἱμάτιον ἔχων ἕκαστος ἀπιέναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, τὰ δ' ἄλλα
 7 παραδοῦναι· καὶ οὕτως ἐξῆλθον. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις παραδοὺς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα πάντα καὶ δέκα ἄρχοντας καταστήσας φρουρεῖν ἀφῆκε τὸ
 8 τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικὸν κατὰ πόλεις, ταῖς δὲ Λακωνικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἀπάγων τά τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκρωτήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ στεφάνους, οὓς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ ἀργυρίου τετρακόσια καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ περιεγέγοντο τῶν φόρων, οὓς αὐτῷ Κῦρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐκτίστατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.

A list of the Ephors to show the duration of the war.

- 9 Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπέδωκε τελευτῶντος
 404 Sept. τοῦ θέρους [εἰς ὃ ἐξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη
 τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα, ἐν οἷς ἔφοροι οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἷδε ἐγένοντο, Αἰνησίας πρῶτος, ἐφ' οὗ ἤρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν τρια-
 10 κονταετίδων σπονδῶν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον οἷδε, Βρασίδας, Ἰσάνωρ, Σωστρατίδας, Ἐξαρχος, Ἀγησίστρατος, Ἀγγε-

νίδας, Ὀνομακλῆς, Ζεύξιππος, Πιτύας, Πλειστολάς, 404-403
 Κλεινόμαχος, Ἰλαρχος, Λέων, Χαιρίλας, Πατησιάδας, B.C.
 Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος, Ὀνομάντιος, Ἀλεξιπ-
 πίδας, Μισγολαΐδας, Ἰσίας, Ἀρακος, Εὐάρχιππος, Παν-
 τακλῆς, Πιτύας, Ἀρχύτας, Εὐδίκος, ἐφ' οὗ Λύσανδρος
 πράξας τὰ εἰρημένα οἴκαδε κατέπλευσεν.]

The Thirty delay to publish the new constitution, and put their own creatures into the senate and other offices. They proceed to purge the city of all extreme democrats, and to support their violent measures they procure from Lysander a Spartan garrison with Callibius as harmost.

Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἡρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ 11
 τεῖχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη· αἰρεθέντες δὲ
 ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ' οὓστινας πολιτεύσονται,
 τούτους μὲν αἰεὶ ἔμελλον συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι,
 βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὥς ἐδόκει
 αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὓς πάντες ἤδεσαν ἐν τῇ 12
 δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς
 καγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπήγον θανά-
 του· καὶ ἢ τε βουλὴ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἱ τε
 ἄλλοι ὅσοι συνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι οὐδὲν
 ἤχθοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη 13
 αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλονται, ἐκ τούτου
 πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ
 Ἀριστοτέλην ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι συμπρᾶ-
 ξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενοι
 καταστήσαιντο τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισ-
 χνοῦντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τοὺς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον 14
 ἄρμοστὴν συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν
 φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ
 θεραπείᾳ, ὥς πάντα ἐπαινοίῃ ἃ πράττοιεν, τῶν δὲ φρου-

404-403 B.C. ῥῶν τούτου συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὓς ἐβούλοντο συνε-
 λαμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηροὺς τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίους,
 ἀλλ' ἤδη οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχε-
 σθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἂν
 τοὺς συνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν.

*A disagreement arises between Critias and Theramenes, the
 former urging a policy of indiscriminate bloodshed.*

- 15 Τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει
 ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετής
 ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἅτε καὶ φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς
 εἶη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ
 καλοὺς καγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγώ,
 ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἔνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ
 18 εἵπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν· ὁ δέ, ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἐχρήτο τῷ
 Θηραμένει, ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίη τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν
 βουλομένοις μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους
 διακωλύειν· εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἷς, ἥττόν
 17 τι οἶει ὥσπερ τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπι-
 μελεῖσθαι, εὐήθης εἶ. ἐπεὶ δέ, ἀποθνησκόντων πολλῶν
 καὶ ἀδίκως, πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν συνιστάμενοί τε καὶ
 θαυμάζοντες τί ἔσοιτο ἡ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηρα-
 μένης ὅτι εἰ μή τις κοινωνοὺς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν διαμένειν.

*To satisfy Theramenes the Thirty nominate three thousand
 to participate in the government; a measure which Thera-
 menes criticizes as at once dangerous and absurd.*

- 18 Ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἤδη
 φοβούμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρνεΐη-
 σαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς

μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δ' αὖ Θηραμένης καὶ 404-403
 πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἄτοπον δοκοίη ἑαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ 19 B.C.
 πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν
 κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν
 τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ
 οὐτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους οὐτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς
 οἶόν τε εἶη γενέσθαι· ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς
 τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ
 ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους.

*By a stratagem the Thirty strip all the Athenians, except
 the Three Thousand, of their arms: they now begin a reign
 of terror, putting to death their own personal enemies and
 rich citizens for the sake of their money.*

Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν 20
 μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου
 ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ἐν ᾧ
 ἐκείνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν
 πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς τὰ ὄπλα πάντων πλὴν
 τῶν τρισχιλίων παρείλουντο, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα εἰς
 τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. τούτων δὲ γενο- 21
 μένων, ὡς ἐξὸν ἦδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅ,τι βούλουντο, πολλοὺς
 μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων.
 ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα
 διδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐ-
 τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνειν, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημήνασθαι.

*When Theramenes opposes these measures, the rest of the
 Thirty conspire against him, and Critias openly accuses
 him before the Senate.*

Ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὄντινα βού- 22
 λαιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἄλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν
 εἶναι φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκο-

404-403 φαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμ-
 B.C. βάνοιεν ζῆν εἴων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας,
 23 ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων
 ἀδικώτερα; οἱ δ' ἐμποδῶν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ
 ποιεῖν ὅτι βούλοιντο, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ
 πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὥς
 λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανί-
 σκοις οἳ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ
 μάλης ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, συνέλεξαν τὴν βουλήν.
 24 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν
 ὧδε.

SPEECH OF CRITIAS.

'The numerous executions were necessitated by the long duration of democracy at Athens, and had the full approval of the Lacedaemonians.

ὦ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, εἰ μὲν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλείονας τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι ὅπου πολιτεῖαι μεθίστανται πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίνεται· πλείστους δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστᾶσι διὰ τε τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστον χρόνον
 25 ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν δῆμον τεθράφθαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ γνόντες μὲν τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς περισώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὐποτ' ἂν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι ἀεὶ ἂν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ γνῶμῃ τήνδε τὴν πολιτείαν καθίστα-
 26 μεν. καὶ ἔάν τινα αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὅσον δυνάμεθα ἐκποδῶν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα δοκεῖ ἡμῖν δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτὸν διδόναι.

Theramenes had shown himself not an enemy only, but a traitor; though he had been foremost in making peace with Sparta and in putting down the democracy, he now wished to make his peace with the people and so secure a safe retreat. 404-403 B.C.

Νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηραμένην τουτουὶ οἷς δύναται 27
 ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ,
 ἦν κατανοήτε, εὐρήσετε οὔτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον
 Θηραμένους τουτουὶ τὰ παρόντα οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον,
 ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδῶν βουλόμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημα-
 γωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πο-
 λέμιος μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἂν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο·
 νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως 28
 καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως, μά-
 λιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ὑμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς
 ὑμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, νῦν ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς
 φανερώς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ
 γιγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ
 καταστῇ, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δώμεν τῶν πεπραγμένων. ὥστε 29
 οὐ μόνον ὥς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ προσήκει ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς προδότῃ
 ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδόναι τὴν δίκην. καίτοι τοσοῦτῳ
 μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέμου, ὅσῳ χαλεπότερον
 φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ, τοσοῦτῳ δ' ἐχθιον,
 ὅσῳ πολεμίους μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ σπένδονται καὶ αὖθις
 πιστοὶ γίγνονται, ὃν δ' ἂν προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ
 οὔτε ἐσπέισατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ.

In the past he had been highly honoured by the people; then he had been foremost in promoting the revolution of the Four Hundred, and foremost again in bringing about their fall. Well therefore had he deserved the nickname of Buskin.

Ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ 30

404-403
B.C.

- φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἀγνωνα, προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μεταστῆσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευσεν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσθετο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο· ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικα-
31 λεῖται· [καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων.] δεῖ δέ, ὦ Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα τοὺς συνόντας, ἣν δέ τι ἀντι-κόπτῃ, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ δια-πονεῖσθαι, ἕως ἂν εἰς οὖρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἂν ἀφίκοντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ, εἰ ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικόψῃ, εὐθὺς εἰς τὰναντία πλέοιεν;

'By such shifts he had caused the death of many; he had procured the condemnation of the generals after Arginusae to save his own life.'

- 32 Καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι, σὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος εἶ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολω-λέναι, πλείστοις δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. οὗτος δέ τοί ἐστιν ὃς ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύοντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθείῃ.

'Death was the only punishment meet for such a man. If they should condemn him they would but follow the example of Sparta; while if they acquitted him, he was sure to prove the ruin of them all.'

- 33 Ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν ἀεὶ

ἐπιμελόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρε- 404-403
 πόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δὲ οὐ B.C.
 φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταβολάς, ὥς μὴ καὶ
 ἡμᾶς ταῦτ' ὀνύσσῃ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦτον ὑπάγομεν
 καὶ ὥς ἐπιβουλευόντα καὶ ὥς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ
 ὑμᾶς. ὥς δ' εἰκότα ποιούμεν, καὶ τὰδ' ἐννοήσατε.
 καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δῆπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακε- 34
 δαιμονίων· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν ἐφόρων ἀντὶ
 τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεσθαι ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ
 ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε αὐτὸν
 καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης
 πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιωθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς
 οὖν, ἐὰν σωφρονήτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε,
 ὥς οὗτος σωθεῖς μὲν πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσῃ
 τῶν ἐναντία γιγνωσκόντων ὑμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων
 καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι ἂν τὰς
 ἐλπίδας.

THERAMENES SPEAKS IN HIS OWN DEFENCE.

'Really the generals at Arginusæ had been the first to accuse him. In alleging the violence of the storm he had offered a reasonable defence, so that in accusing him they had pronounced their own condemnation. Critias knew nothing of the matter, being at that time in Thessaly.

Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς 35
 ἔλεξεν, Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὃ
 τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατη-
 γοὺς ἀποκτείνει κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον δῆπου
 κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἔφασαν προσταχθέν
 μοι ὑφ' ἐαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ
 περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ὥς διὰ
 τὸν χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλείν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας

404-403 δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι δ'
 B.C. ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φάσκοντες γὰρ οἶόν τε
 εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι ἀπολέσθαι αὐτοὺς
 36 ἀποπλέοντες ὥχοντο. οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν
 * παρανενομηκέναι· ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγ-
 χανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν
 κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὥπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δε-
 σπότας.

*'But it was not men like himself who endangered the exist-
 ence of the Government, but those who had wished to put
 to death the foremost men in the state.*

37 Ὡν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο·
 τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς
 ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν
 ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖ, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτὸν τιμωρίας
 τυγχάνειν· ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστὶν οἶμαι
 ἂν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τὰ τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἃ νῦν
 38 πράττει ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν
 τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστήναι εἰς τὴν βουλείαν καὶ ἀρχὰς
 ἀποδειχθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας ὑπά-
 γεσθαι πάντες ταῦτα ἐγινώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὔτοι
 ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς συλλαμβάνειν, ἐκ
 τούτου καὶ ἐγὼ ἠρξάμην τὰναντία τούτοις γινώσκειν.
 39 ἦδειν γὰρ ὅτι ἀποθνήσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλα-
 μινίου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκοῦντος ἱκανοῦ εἶναι,
 ἀδικοῦντος δ' οὐδὲ ἓν, οἱ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ φοβήσονται,
 φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται·
 ἐγίγνωσκον δὲ ὅτι συλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ
 Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε
 αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ ὅμοιοι δυσ-
 40 μενεῖς ἡμῖν γενήσονται. Ἀλλὰ μὲν καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος

ὕφ' ἡμῶν ἀπολλυμένον, ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις 404-403
 εὖ πλεούσας παρείχετο, ἠπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι B.C.
 τῇ πόλει γεγεννημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ἡμῖν ἔξοιεν.

'He had consistently resisted such measures as the arrest of the metæci, the seizure of arms, the hiring of the Spartan garrison, the banishment of leading citizens.

Ἄντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εὐδὴλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τούτων ἀπολομένων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσοιντο. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρηγοῦντο, οὐ 41
 νομίζων χρῆναι ἀσθενῇ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἑώρων τούτου ἔνεκα βουλομένους περισῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι μηδὲν δυναίμεθ' αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἔξῃν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γε δέοιντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαντας. οὐδέ γε τὸ 42
 φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι συνήρεσκέ μοι, ἐξδὼν αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσούτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἕως ῥαδίως ἐμέλλομεν οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσειν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἑώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇδε δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε Ἄνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ἥδειν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἰσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἡγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ προσγενήσονται, τοῖς δ' ἡγεῖσθαι βουλομένοις σύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσονται.

'Did such conduct show him to be a friend or a traitor? Surely those rather were traitors who by such evil counsel had made so many enemies.

Ὅ ταῦτα οὖν νοουθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ πότερα εὐμενὴς 43
 ἂν δικαίως ἢ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθροὺς, ὧ

- 404-403 B.C. Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδ' οἱ συμμαχοὺς
 πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι, οὔτοι τοὺς πολεμίους
 ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ ἀδίκως τε
 χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀπο-
 κτείνοντες, οὔτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους
 ποιοῦντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους ἀλλὰ
 44 καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν
 ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε
 Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἄνυτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ἢ
 ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἂν ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι ἢ
 ἂ οὔτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς
 νομίζειν συμμαχῶν πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κρά-
 τιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν εἶχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν
 ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι τῆς χώρας.

'He had indeed turned against the Four Hundred, but only when he had perceived that they had deluded the people with the vain hope of a Spartan alliance.'

- 45 Ἄ δ' αὖ εἶπεν ὥς ἐγὼ εἶμι οἶος ἀεί ποτε μεταβάλ-
 λεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν
 τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δῆπου ὁ δῆμος ἐψη-
 φίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὥς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ
 46 μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν. ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐκείνοι
 μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνίεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλη καὶ Μελάνθιον
 καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγοῦντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ
 τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, εἰς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς
 πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις τὴν
 πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενος ἐγὼ διεκώλυσα,
 τοῦτ' ἐστὶ προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων;

'He was nicknamed the Buskin for suiting both sides; but what of Critias who suited neither side? He had consistently advocated a moderate constitution, opposed alike to extreme democracy and extreme oligarchy.' 404-403 B.C.

Ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὥς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον 47
 ἁρμόττειν. ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον ὦ πρὸς
 τῶν θεῶν τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν
 τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ
 ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι. ἐγὼ 48
 δ', ὦ Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν αἰεί ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ
 πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ
 οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν
 πόλιν δραχμῆς μετέχοιεν, καὶ τοῖσδ' ἔγωγε αἰεί ἐναντίος
 εἰμὶ οἷ οὐκ οἶονται καλὴν ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν,
 πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραννεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν κατα-
 στήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ' ἱππων
 καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν διὰ τούτων τὴν πολιτείαν
 πρόσθεν ἄριστον ἡγούμεν εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι.

'If Critias could convict him of treachery to such a policy, he was indeed worthy of death.'

Εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς δη- 49
 μοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς καλοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστε-
 ρεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· ἔαν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν
 ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον πώποτε πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ
 τὰ πάντων ἔσχατα παθὼν ἂν δικαίως ἀποθνήσκειν.

Critias, seeing that Theramenes would be acquitted by the senate, arbitrarily erases his name from the roll of the Three Thousand and condemns him to death in the name of the Thirty.

Ὡς δ' εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο, καὶ ἡ βουλή δῆλη 50

404-403
B.C.

ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνούς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι εἰ ἐπιτρέψοι τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξειτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγήσάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεχθεὶς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανερώς τῇ βουλῇ
 51 ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις. πάλιν δὲ εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν, Ἐγώ, ὦ βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἴου δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὀρώων τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπη. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἷδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὐ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερώς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων μηδένα ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένη τουτονὶ ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, συνδοκοῦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν.

Theramenes takes refuge at the altar, appealing against this illegal procedure; but Critias, relying on the guard he had posted round the senate house, hands him over to the Eleven.

52 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν καὶ εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἰκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ' ὅνπερ νόμον οὗτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν
 53 καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο μέν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἄγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει ὅδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, καλοὶ κἀγαθοί,

θανμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γινώ- 404-408
σκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἔμὸν ὄνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ B.C.
ὑμῶν ἐκάστου. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκάλεσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριά- 54
κοντα κήρυξ τοὺς ἔνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ
εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου
τοῦ θρασυτάτου τε καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας,
Παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ κατακεκριμένον
κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ
ἔνδεκα οἱ δεῖ τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράττετε.

*The senate, panic stricken, passively allows Theramenes to be
dragged away from the altar and hurried to execution.
His last sayings.*

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυ- 55
ρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὥσπερ εἰκὸς
καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλείτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γινό-
μενα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὁρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ
τοῖς δρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ
βουλευτηρίου πλήρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες
ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρήσαν. οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν 56
ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα
οἷα ἔπασχε. λέγεται δ' ἐν ῥῆμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. ὥς εἶπεν
ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξοιτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρετο, Ἄν
δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη, οἰμώξομαι; καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀπο-
θνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε, τὸ λειπόμενον
ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν, Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω
τῷ καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀπο-
φθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
ἀγαστόν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον
μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

CHAPTER IV.

404-403 *The Thirty expel all not on the roll of the Three Thousand*
 B.C. *from Attica. The refugees assemble in Megara and*
Thebes.

Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὥς ἐξὸν ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ἦγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵν' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.

Thrasybulus, starting from Thebes with a few refugees, seizes Phyle, repulses the attack of the Thirty, and makes a successful sally upon their camp, his forces being now increased to 700.

- 2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὥς σὺν ἐβδομήκοντα Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως σὺν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ μάλ' εὐημερίας οὔσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν
- 3 οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν παμπληθὴς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνοὺς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ
- 4 τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες. γινώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατήσοιεν, εἰ μή τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμ-

πουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐσχατίας ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ 404-403
 Φυλῆς τοὺς τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς καὶ B.C.
 τῶν ἱππέων δύο φυλάς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν
 χωρίῳ λασίῳ ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἥδη συν- 5
 ειλεγμένων εἰς τὴν Φυλὴν περὶ ἐπτακοσίους, λαβὼν
 αὐτοὺς καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτός· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὄπλα ὅσον
 τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἥδη ἀνίσταντο ὅποι 6
 ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ οἱ ἱπποκόμοι ψήχον-
 τες τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον ἐποίου, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ
 περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὄπλα δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι
 μὲν οὖς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν
 ἐξ ἧ ἑπτὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλεόν
 ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν
 καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόν-
 τες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον 7
 στησάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι ὄπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον καὶ
 σκεύη ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεως ἱππεῖς
 βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον, προσ-
 μέιναντες δὲ ἕως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο οἱ προσήκοντες
 ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἄστυ.

*The Thirty seize Eleusis as a place of retreat for themselves,
 by a stratagem capturing all the able-bodied Eleusinians.
 Next day they compel the Athenian knights and the Three
 Thousand to condemn all these prisoners to death.*

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ 8
 σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσίνα ἐξιδιώσα-
 σθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγὴν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ
 παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα
 Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασιν τε ποιή-
 σαντες [ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι], φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι

404-403
B.C.

πόσοι εἶεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσονται, ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραφάμενον αἰεὶ διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξιέναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ' ἐξιόντα αἰεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται συνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευον

• 9 ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἑνδεκα. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ Ὀιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν, Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν συνειλημμένων Ἐλευσινίων καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταῦτα ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρήτε καὶ φοβῆσθε. δείξας δέ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευε

10 φανεράν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὀιδείου ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἄρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἷς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἔμελεν.

Thrasybulus marches upon Piraeus, but unable to hold so large a town against the forces of the Thirty, occupies a strong position on Munychia.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς περὶ χιλίους ἤδη συνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐπεὶ ᾗσθοντο ταῦτα, εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν σὺν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς

11 τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὢν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι οὐπω πολλοῖς οὔσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ

ἄστεως εἰς τὴν Ἴπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρῶτον 404-403
 μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ φέρει πρὸς B.C.
 τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον·
 καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα
 ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συνεταγμένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω. οἱ δὲ 12
 ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδόν, βάθος δὲ οὐ
 πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὀπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι
 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ
 γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγέγοντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ προσῆσαν οἱ
 ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας
 τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὄπλα ἔχων,
 κατὰ μέσον στὰς ἔλεξεν·

*Thrasybulus addresses his troops. 'On the right they had
 against them the men they had already defeated, on the left
 the hated Thirty. The gods were evidently now on their
 side : for victory was certain over an enemy placed in so
 unfavourable a position.*

Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνήσαι 13
 ὑμῶν βούλομαι ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν
 ἔχοντες οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε,
 οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ
 ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουσι οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας καὶ οἰκῶν
 ἐξήλανον καὶ τοὺς φιλάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαί-
 νοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγέννηται οἱ οὗτοι μὲν οὔποτε
 ᾤοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰὲν ἠνυχόμεθα. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὄπλα 14
 ἐναντίοι μὲν αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοί, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ
 δειπνοῦντες συνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγορά-
 ζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικούντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδη-
 μοῦντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα, νῦν φανερώς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι.
 καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδία χεიმῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ.

- 404-403 B.C. καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων ὀλίγοις
 15 οὔσι τρόπαια ἴστασθαι διδόασιν· καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίσκασιν
 ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον ἐν ᾧ οὔτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκον-
 τίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὀρθιον ἰέναι
 δύναιντ' ἂν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ δόρατα ἀφιέντες
 καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους ἐξιζόμεθά τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς
 16 κατατρώσομεν. καὶ ᾤετο μὲν ἂν τις δεήσειν τοῖς γε
 πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δ', εἰν ὑμεῖς,
 ὥσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφίητε τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτήσεται
 μὲν οὐδεὶς ὧν γε μεστή ἡ ὁδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπε-
 τεύουσιν αἰεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε ἐξέσται ὥσπερ
 τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου ἂν βουλώμεθα καὶ ἐναλλομένους
 ἀνατρέπειν.

'Every one of them must fight, remembering the high stakes at issue, and the vengeance due to all of them.'

- 17 'ΑΛΛ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅπως ἕκαστός τις
 ἐαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὢν. αὕτη γὰρ
 ἡμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους
 καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἷς εἰσί, καὶ γυ-
 ναῖκας. ὦ μακάριοι δῆτα, οἳ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδωσι
 τὴν πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἂν τις
 ἀποθάνῃ· μνημεῖου γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὢν καλοῦ
 τεύξεται. ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς ᾗ παιᾶνα·
 ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἑνυάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες
 ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

Warned by the seer, who is himself the first to fall, Thrasylus waits for the enemy to attack, whereupon he gains a complete victory, Critias himself being among the slain.

- 18 Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους,
 ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγγελλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ

πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ 404-403
 τρωθείη· ἐπειδὰν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μέν, B.C.
 ἔφη, ἡμεῖς, νίκη δὲ ὑμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένοις, ἐμοὶ μέντοι
 θάνατος, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ 19
 ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὄπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς
 ἀγόμενος ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις
 ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ·
 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὀμαλοῦ.
 ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ
 Ἰππόμαχος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεὶ δέκα ἀρχόντων Χαρμίδης
 ὁ Γλαύκωνος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ
 μὲν ὄπλα ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν
 ἐσκύλευσαν.

When after the battle the troops of the two factions met together, Cleocritus, the sacred herald, proclaims on behalf of the refugees with Thrasybulus, that they had no quarrel with their fellow-citizens, but only with the Thirty, who in eight months had caused the death of more Athenians than the Lacedaemonians in ten years. The Thirty withdraw their forces to Athens.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους
 ἀπεδίδοσαν, προσιόντες ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ διελέγοντο.
 Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, μάλ' εὐφωνος ὢν, 20
 κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν, Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξε-
 λαύνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν
 μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχῆκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ
 ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν καλ-
 λίστων, καὶ συγχορευταὶ καὶ συμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα καὶ
 συστρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύκαμεν καὶ
 κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων
 ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας. πρὸς θεῶν πατρώων 21
 καὶ μητρῶν καὶ συγγενείας καὶ κηδεστίας καὶ ἑταιρίας,

404-403
B.C.

πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις, αἰδούν-
μενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους παύσασθε ἁμαρτάνοντες
εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριά-
κοντα, οἳ ἰδίων κερδέων ἕνεκα ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκ-
τόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὀκτὼ μηνὶν ἢ πάντες Πελοπον-
22 νήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες. ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ
πολιτεύεσθαι, οὗτοι τὸν πάντων αἰσχιστόν τε καὶ χαλε-
πώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ
ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν.
ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν
ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὗς
πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν. ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ
λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν τοὺς
μεθ' αὐτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ.

*At a meeting of the senate open dissension breaks out among
the Three Thousand, until they vote to depose the Thirty
and appoint Ten in their place.*

23 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάντῃ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ
ἔρημοι συνεκάθηον ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων
ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς
ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαιότερον καὶ
ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὡς οὐ χρεῖν καθυφίεσθαι τοῖς
ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἡδικηκέναι, αὐτοί
τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐδὲν
δέοιντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν
χρῆναι πείθεσθαι οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι τὴν πόλιν.
καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν καταπαῦσαι,
ἄλλους δὲ ἐλέσθαι. καὶ εἵλοντο δέκα, ἓνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

The Thirty retire to Eleusis. The Ten supported by the Knights keep guard over the city. Their opponents at Piraeus make new weapons and organize their ever increasing forces. 408-402 B.C.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσινάδε ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δὲ δέκα 24
 τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούντων
 ἀλλήλοις σὺν τοῖς ἱππάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκάθειδον
 δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὠιδείῳ, τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς
 ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἀφ'
 ἐσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τείχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς
 ὄρθρον σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, ἀεὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιέν
 τινες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τε ἤδη 25
 ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποί, ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ
 δὲ οἰσύινα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα
 γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες, οἵτινες συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ
 ξένοι εἶεν, ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἐξῆσαν πολλοὶ μὲν
 ὀπλίται, πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνήτες· ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ
 ἱππεῖς ὥς εἰ ἐβδομήκοντα· προνομὰς δὲ ποιούμενοι, καὶ
 λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ ὀπώραν, ἐκάθειδον πάλιν ἐν
 Πειραιεῖ.

Meantime they make constant sallies, in revenge for which the knights ruthlessly butcher some Axionians. In return they kill the knight Callistratus, and soon venture to march close up to the walls of Athens.

Τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὅπλοις 26
 ἐξήει, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ληστὰς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν
 ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν.
 περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἰξωνέων τισὶν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν
 ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορευομένοις· καὶ τούτους Λυσί-
 μαχος ὁ ἱππαρχος ἀπέσφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας καὶ

403-402 πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων ἱππέων. ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ
 B.C. 27 καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλ-
 λίστρατον φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἤδη μέγα ἐφρό-
 νουν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἄστεως προσέβαλλον.
 εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ
 ἄστει, ὃς ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλ-
 λοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα
 ἁμαξιαίους λίθους ἄγειν καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἕκαστος
 βούλοιτο τοῦ δρόμου. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ εἰς
 ἕκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρεῖχε.

*In response to an appeal from the Three Thousand at Athens
 and the Thirty at Piraeus, the Spartans send out Lysander
 as harmost and his brother as admiral to blockade Piraeus,
 so that the tables are once more turned.*

28 Πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν μὲν
 τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος, τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἄσ-
 τεως, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελεύόντων, ὥς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου
 ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσανδρος λογισάμενος ὅτι οἷόν τε
 εἶη ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ κατὰ τε γῆν
 καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλεισθείησαν,
 συνέπραξεν ἑκατὸν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς δανεισθῆναι, καὶ
 αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἁρμοστήν, Λίβυν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
 29 ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι. καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν
 Ἑλευσίνῃδε συνέλεγεν ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους·
 ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν ὅπως μηδὲν
 εἰσπλέοι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν
 ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεὶ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὖ
 μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ.

*But Pausanias, out of jealousy against Lysander, persuades 403-402
three of the ephors to let him head a second expedition B.C.
to Athens. All the allies follow him, except the Corinthians and Boeotians, who refuse to join, and with them he encamps near the Piraeus.*

Οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων Πανσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς φθονή-
σας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν εὐ-
δοκίμησοι, ἅμα δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας
τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρουράν. συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ 30
σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων· οὗτοι
δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῖν ἂν στρατευσό-
μενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιούντας·
ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βου-
λομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν
ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν
τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ δεξιὸν ἔχων
κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώ-
νυμον.

*Pausanias summons the refugees at Piraeus to disperse, and
on their refusal makes a half-hearted attack upon them.
Failing in this and in a similar attack the next day
he advances with all his forces and gains a complete
victory over Thrasybulus and his supporters.*

Πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Πανσανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πει- 31
ραιεῖ ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπεί-
θοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ
δῆλος εἶη εὐμενῆς αὐτοῖς ὢν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς
προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπῆλθε, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ λαβὼν τῶν μὲν
Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων τρεῖς
φυλάς, παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῇ εὐα-
ποτειχιστότατος εἶη ὁ Πειραιεύς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ 32
προσέθεόν τινες καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρεῖχον, ἀχθεσθεῖς

- 403-402 παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἑλῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ
 B.C. τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης συνέπεσθαι· σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ Πειραιοῖ
 33 θέατρον. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἳ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ εὐθὺς ἐκδραμόντες ἠκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξενον, ἐσφενδόνων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα. οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχῳ, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμο-
 34 νίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὀπλίται, ἐβοήθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ὀκτώ. ὁ δὲ Πausanias μάλα πιεσθεὶς καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινά, παρήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος παντελῶς βαθεῖαν τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγευ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ' εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλόν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλιναν· καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὥς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.

Pausanias urges the two factions at Piraeus and Athens to send envoys to him and the ephors present in his camp; and when they arrive in obedience to his summons, he sends them on to Sparta, where they both tender a complete submission to the Lacedaemonian supremacy.

- 35 Ὁ δὲ Πausanias τρόπαιον στησάμενος ἀνεχώρησε· καὶ οὐδ' ὥς ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρα πέμπων ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ οἷα χρὴ λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπειν

403-402
B.C.

πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐφόρους. οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο. διίστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς προσιέναι ὡς πλείστους συλληγομένους, λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφότεροι Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι εἶναι. ἡδέως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας ἔφορος ὦν συνήκουεν· 36 ὥσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν ἐφόρων συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὗτός τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφότεροι τῆς μετὰ Πausανίου γνώμης ὄντες μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα προθύμως ἔπεμπον τοὺς τ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἰδιώτας, Κηφισοφῶντά τε καὶ Μέλλητον. ἐπεὶ 37 μέντοι οὗτοι ὥχοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἔπεμπον δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παραδιδόασιν καὶ τὰ τείχη ἃ ἔχουσι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι ὅ,τι βούλονται· ἀξιοῦν δ' ἔφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, παραδιδόναι τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν.

The Spartan government despatches fifteen commissioners to arrange the terms of reconciliation. These settled, Pausanias disbands his army, and Thrasybulus marches up to Athens.

Ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἐκκλητοὶ 38 ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Πausανίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο κάλλιστα. οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ' ᾧ τε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ ἀρξάντων δέκα. εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῦντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεως, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Ἐλευσίνα κατοικεῖν. τούτων δὲ περανθέντων 39

403-402 Πανσανίας μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς
 B.C. ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν τῇ
 Ἀθηνᾷ.

SPEECH OF THRASYBULUS.

'On what grounds did their opponents claim to rule over them? Facts had shown them to be no juster, braver, or wiser than themselves. Even the Lacedaemonians had forsaken them. Once more he wished his followers to show themselves the better men by keeping their oath of reconciliation.'

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Θρασύ-
 40 βουλος ἔλεξεν, Ὑμῖν, ἔφη, ὦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄνδρες,
 συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ γινῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. μάλιστα δ' ἂν
 γνοίητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσαισθε ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονη-
 τέον ἐστίν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δι-
 καιότεροί ἐστε; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὢν
 οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἡδίκηκεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ
 πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχροῦ ἔνεκα
 κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν
 προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ ὑμῖν μέγα φρο-
 41 νητέον. καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίῳ κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο ἢ ὥς
 ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμη φαίητ' ἂν
 προέχειν, οἱ ἔχοντες καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα
 καὶ συμμάχους Πελοποννησίους ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων
 ἐχόντων παραλέλυσθε; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ
 οἴεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς, οἷγε ὧ περ τοὺς
 δάκνουτας κύνας κλοιῷ δήσαντες παραδιδόασιν, οὕτω
 κἀκείνοι ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἡδικημένῳ τούτῳ δήμῳ οἴ-
 42 χονται ἀπιόντες; οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀξιῷ ἐγὼ
 ὢν ὁμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς

τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὖορκοι καὶ ὄσιοί 403-402
 ἔστε. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν B.C.
 δέοι ταραττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρῆ-
 σθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

The Athenians then reorganize their constitution; but shortly afterwards, hearing the Thirty are forming a conspiracy, they seize and slay their generals, but come to terms with the rest, to which ever since they have faithfully adhered.

Καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο· 43
 ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς
 Ἐλευσῖνι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν
 στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς
 δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους
 ἔπεισαν συναλλαγῆναι· καὶ ὁμόσαντες ὅρκους ἢ μὴν μὴ
 μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς
 ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

CLARENDON PRESS SERIES

XENOPHON

HELLENICA, BOOKS I, II

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

G. E. UNDERHILL, M.A.

FELLOW AND SENIOR TUTOR OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE

PART II.—NOTES

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1907

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

LONDON, EDINBURGH

NEW YORK AND TORONTO

NOTES.

§ 1. **Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα.** For the interval that must have elapsed between the points, where Thucydides' narrative ends and Xenophon's begins, see Introd. pp. 6, 7.

αὖθις, in a second battle; the Athenian victory at Cynossema being apparently the first (Thuc. viii. 106).

§ 2. **ἐκ Πόδου.** For the positions of Dorieus, Mindarus, Tissaphernes, and Alcibiades at this time see Introd. pp. 6, 7.

τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, i. e. Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus (Thuc. viii. 104).

ὥς ἦνοιγε, 'as soon as he got clear,' i. e. of the narrow strait of the Hellespont. **περὶ τὸ Πόρτειον** must be joined with **πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαζε**. The imperfect tense expresses the attempt.

§ 3. **εἰς Μάδυτον**, in the Thracian Chersonese not far from Sestos.

§ 4. **ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν**, i. e. to Abydos.

§ 5. **ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ.** Mindarus had moved his fleet from Elaeus to Abydos (cf. Diod. xiii. 45), so that, since Ilium is twenty miles from Abydos, and since he saw Dorieus entering **ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ**, in all probability the fight must have been renewed the day after Dorieus' arrival in the Hellespont. Moreover the Athenian ships seem (cf. §§ 2, 3) to have sailed from Madytus, fought against Dorieus and returned to Madytus again before the second battle—a process, which, considering the twenty or thirty miles thus traversed, must have occupied several hours. Further, since Madytus was nearly opposite to Abydos, the second battle must have been fought somewhere between the two cities, and consequently much higher up the Hellespont than the first. Diodorus (l. c.) speaks of one battle only, making Mindarus sail down from Abydos to the support of Dorieus at the Dardanian promontory. Accordingly Breitenbach, wishing to reconcile the two accounts, regards **ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ** as an interpolation.

§ 6. **Φαρνάβαζος** was satrap of Phrygia Minor and Bithynia, and was now in league with the Peloponnesians (Thuc. viii. 80, 99).

§ 7. **συμφράξαντες**, 'having formed in close order.'

§ 9. **συλλαβών.** Though after this Alcibiades could never again hope to delude the Athenians with promises of Persian aid (Thuc. viii. 82), his own naval successes round Samos and now in the Hellespont seem to have been sufficient to secure for him their confidence. Tissaphernes

BOOK I.

I.

BOOK I. evidently wanted to retrieve his position in the opinion of the Peloponnesians (Thuc. viii. 109).

I.

§ 10. μετὰ Μαντιθέου : Mantitheus is mentioned again i. 3. 13.

§ 11. οἱ δ' ἐν Σηστῷ, κ.τ.λ. From this point some commentators date the campaign of 410-409, because Diodorus says that the battle of Cyzicus was fought ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος λήγοντος. But Diodorus by the end of the winter means February, not, like Thucydides and Xenophon, the beginning of April.

εἰς Καρδίαν. On the west coast of the Chersonese.

§ 12. Θηραμένης. (Diod. xiii. 47, 49.) After trying in vain to prevent the Euboeans and Boeotians from uniting Euboea with the mainland by a bridge across the Euripus, Theramenes had sailed to the Aegean islands in order to replace the democracies in the various states, had then lent aid to king Archelaus of Macedon in the siege of Pydna, and finally joined Thrasybulus (cf. supr. § 8) on the Thracian coast.

§ 13. ἐξελομένους τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία, i.e. the sails of the greater of the two masts. So too, vi. 2. 27, Iphicrates leaves his large sails behind to make his ships lighter and more manageable for fighting.

εἰς Πάριον. On the E. shore of the entrance to the Propontis.

§ 14. αὐτοῖς, i.e. τοῖς στρατιώταις in the ἐκκλησία.

§ 15. ὠρμίσαντο, i.e. at Proconnesus in the Propontis.

§ 16. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγύς, κ.τ.λ. See note on the battle of Cyzicus at the end of the volume.

ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, i.e. by Alcibiades. Cobet and others conjecture ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, 'from the harbour'; an idea already sufficiently expressed by ἀπειλημμένης.

§ 18. ταῖς εἴκοσι. The article is accounted for by the previous mention of the Athenian fleet (cf. infr. i. 6. 26). There is no need to suppose that ἀρίσταις has dropped out of the text (cf. Plut. Alc. 28).

ἀπάσας. The Peloponnesians did not succeed in collecting a fleet again till Lysander was appointed admiral in 408 B. C.; cf. Plato, Menex. 243 μὴ μὲν ἡμέρα πάσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλόντες ναῦς.

Συρακοσίῳ. Thucydides (viii. 26) relates that the Syracusans had sent a squadron under Hermocrates to aid the Lacedaemonians.

§ 21. Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυβρίαν. Both on the N. coast of the Propontis.

§ 22. Χρυσόπολιν, on the Bosphorus, opposite Byzantium.

δεκατευτήριον. The establishment of this custom-house was of the greatest importance to Athens now that her treasury was exhausted, and she had lost so many of her subject allies, more especially Euboea (Thuc. viii. 95).

ἐξέλεγον . . . καὶ . . . ἐγκαταλιπόντες : from the confusion of the order of thought in these two lines, commentators have suspected the MS. reading.

§ 23. *ἐπιστολίως*: this officer held the second command in the Lacedaemonian fleet (cf. vi. 2. 25 and note on i. 5. 1).

ἰάλω. The MSS. read *ἑάλωσαν*.

κάλα. This is Bergk's conjecture for the MS. *καλά*. The word is equivalent to *ξύλα* and is used by Aristophanes, Lys. 1251, to denote ships. *τὰ καλά* = 'our honour is gone' hardly seems to suit the passage.

ἀπυσία, Doric form of *ἀπυσή*, aor. pass. of *ἀποσεύω*, is explained by Eustathius as *ἀπῆλθε, τέθνηκε*.

πεινῶντι τῶνδρες, ἀπορίοιμες. Doric for *πεινῶσι οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀπορούμεν*. For the offers of peace apparently made by the Spartans at this time (cf. *Intro.* pp. 11, 26).

§ 24. *Φαρνάβαζος*. Diodorus (xiii. 51) says that the Peloponnesians fled to his camp.

§ 25. *τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγούς*, i. e. the generals from the several states in the Peloponnesian confederacy.

§ 26. *ναυπηγουμένων*. Genitive absolute, sc. *αὐτῶν*.

§ 27. *Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ*. This and the similar formulae in §§ 31, 32, 33 seem to mean that all the events here mentioned occurred just about the time of the battle of Cyzicus.

Ἑρμοκράτους. The leader of the oligarchical party at Syracuse (cf. Thuc. viii. 85).

μεμνημένους . . . ὑπάρχουσιν. In the MSS. these words are placed after *χρῆναι διδόναι* in § 28. In this case the phrase *λόγον διδόναι* would have to bear the unusual sense 'to give an opportunity of speaking,' and the words *μεμνημένους . . . ὑπάρχουσιν* must then be an appeal made by the generals to their soldiers to give them a fair hearing, when they returned to Syracuse,—an appeal quite uncalled for after the loyalty which these soldiers had just shown them. If however the words be transposed, with Dindorf, to their present position in the text, the passage at once becomes intelligible. When the soldiers refused to elect new generals, notwithstanding the news that the present generals had been exiled, Hermocrates told them that they ought not to rebel against the home government; but that if any one had any charge to make against himself or his colleagues, both he and they were in duty bound to give an account of their commands. As however no one brought any accusation against them, they consented to continue in command till their successors arrived.

νενικήκατε. Many parallels may be found for this abrupt change to the oratio recta (cf. *infr.* i. 4. 14, vi. 5. 35, etc.).

ἡμετέραν . . . ὑμετέραν. There is no need to transpose these words: *ἀρετή* can very well mean courage and skill in commanding; *προθυμία*, sc. *τῶν στρατιωτῶν*, 'zeal in obeying.'

§ 29. *δεομένων*. Genitive absolute.

κατάξειν, 'would bring them back from exile.'

§ 30. προσομιλοῦντες. The pres. part. expresses frequency.

ὧν = τούτων οὗς.

ἀνεξυνοῦτο. Doric for ἀνεκοινοῦτο.

§ 31. κατηγορήσας. Thucydides (viii. 85) narrates, how in 411 B.C. Hermocrates had accused Tissaphernes at Sparta of playing a double game between the Peloponnesians and Athenians. He is mentioned (infr. i. 3. 13) as accompanying some Spartan envoys, who, at the same time as some Athenian envoys, were to meet Pharnabazus at Cyzicus, 409 B.C. Since Diodorus puts his expedition against Syracuse in 408 B.C., it must have been shortly after this meeting that he obtained from Pharnabazus the assistance described in this passage. Tissaphernes was the personal enemy of Pharnabazus.

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἦκον, cf. εἰμιναν ἕως ἀφίκοντο . . . ἀπεπέμφαντο. The chronological sequence of events here seems to be hopelessly confused. How could the old generals have at the same time waited for the new ones to arrive and been sent on their way with promises of future help? Why in § 31 does Xenophon tell the story already narrated by Thucydides (viii. 85) of what had already happened to Hermocrates early in 411, and couple with that his visit to Pharnabazus, which must certainly have been subsequent to his exile, mentioned in § 27 as apparently occurring about the beginning of 410 B.C.? and why does he insert at this point his preparations for his attack upon Syracuse, which was not actually made till 408 B.C. according to Diodorus (xiii. 63)? Again, to what interval of time does ἐν τούτῳ refer? for the new ships building at Antandros in the spring of 410 cannot have been finished till the summer, i.e. after the beginning of the next campaign. Perhaps it may be interpreted to mean the time following the agreement made between the old generals and the army, inclusive of the time required for building the ships. ἦκον must therefore be translated as a pluperfect, 'had arrived.'

εἰς Μίλητον. This agrees with Thucydides, l. c.

§ 32. Ἐν Θάσῳ. Thasos had revolted from Athens in 411 B. C., two months after Diotrephes, an Athenian oligarch, had put down the democracy, then existing, in favour of an oligarchy (cf. Thuc. viii. 64), and had since submitted to the government of a Spartan harmost. Now it appears that the popular party under Ecphantus had expelled Eteonicus the harmost and his supporters, and admitted Thrasybulus with an Athenian force just after the battle of Cyzicus: cf. this section with §§ 22. 12, and with Demosthenes (c. Lept. § 67), who in alluding to it apparently somewhat confuses together this affair and the subjugation of the island in 408 B.C. recorded infr. i. 4. 9, adding that it further led to τὸν περὶ Θράκην τόπον entering the Athenian alliance.

ἄρμοστής. In 423 B. C. the Spartans appointed governors in

Thrace (Thuc. iv. 131), and in 413 king Agis made Alcamenes harmost of Euboea (Thuc. viii. 5). But it was not till the admiralty of Lysander, 408 B. C., that it became a principle of the Lacedaemonian hegemony to appoint these officers backed up by oligarchies of ten in all the subject states; cf. Diod. xiv. 10 *καταστήσαντες δὲ ναύαρχον Λύσανδρον τούτῳ προσέταξαν ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν ἐκάστη τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλούμενους ἄρμουςτὰς ἐγκαθιστάντα· ταῖς γὰρ δημοκρατίαις προσκόπτοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἐβούλοντο τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖσθαι*. Other instances of harmosts in these books are (i. 2. 18) Labotas in Heraclea, (i. 3. 5) Hippocrates in Chalcidon, (i. 3. 15) Clearchus in Byzantium, (ii. 3. 14) Callibius at Athens.

Πασσιπίδας. It is impossible to determine whether Pasippidas was actually *ναύαρχος* in succession to Mindarus, or whether he merely filled his place till the newly appointed successor Cratesippidas arrived.

§ 33. **Δεκελείας.** Agis had commanded this *ἐπιτελιχισμός* ever since its fortification in 413 B. C. (Thuc. vii. 19).

Θράσυλλος had returned to Athens immediately after the battle at Abydos (supr. § 8) to procure reinforcements.

§ 34. *τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν*, 'of those in the rear.'

§ 35. *σχήσοι καὶ ὅθεν*, 'should also seize the places from which, etc.'

καὶ Κλέαρχον. *καί* is to be retained: the passage means that, just as Agis prevented provisions coming into Athens by land, so also Clearchus was to do the same by sea. Clearchus had been designated to command a squadron in the Hellespont in 412 B. C., and on his arrival there in 411 B. C. Byzantium had revolted to him (Thuc. viii. 8, 39, 80).

§ 36. *εἰς Σηστόν*. Sestus was at this time occupied by the Athenians (cf. supr. § 11), so that it has been proposed to read *εἰς Ἀβυδον*.

§ 37. **Ἀννίβα.** This Hannibal was the son of Gisco, and according to the narrative of Diodorus (xiii. 62) he captured Himera two years later, in 409 B. C. Dindorf regards this reference to Sicilian affairs and the similar ones in i. 5. 21, ii. 2. 24, so too the references to Persian history, i. 2. 19, ii. 1. 8–9, as interpolations: but they may very well be justified on the analogy of Thuc. ii. 28, iii. 87, 92, etc., and indeed, since the Sicilian Greeks and the Persians had begun actively to interfere, they may be regarded as necessary to the understanding of the course of the war.

§ 1. **Ὀλυμπιάς.** See Introd. § 2. on Xenophon's chronology.

προστεθεῖσα ξυνωρίς. Pausanias (v. 8. 3) relates, that the two-horse chariot race was first added in the 93rd Olympiad, i.e. 408 B. C. or two years later than this date on Breitenbach's calculation, or one year on Bruckner's.

Θορικόν. On the S. E. coast of Attica.

Θράσυλλος supr. i. 8 was sent to obtain reinforcements for the

BOOK I. Hellespont, but now, for some unexplained reason, he takes his new fleet to Ionia. Probably the Athenians were already completely masters of the Hellespont, and so could afford to use their forces elsewhere.

II.

ὥς ἅμα καί, κ.τ.λ.: probably a gloss. Peter translates the words, 'together with those who were to serve as peltasts'; but anyhow ὥς is out of place.

§ 2. Πύγελα. A small town five miles S.W. of Ephesus.

§ 4. εἰς Νότιον. The harbour of Colophon, N.W. of Ephesus.

ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, 'when the corn was ripening,' i.e. about June.

§ 5. Στάγης. Thucydides (viii. 16) calls him ὑπαρχος Τισσαφέρνους.

§ 6. τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. The famous temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

§ 7. Κορησσόν, a hill four and a-half miles S.W. of Ephesus.

§ 8. σφίσιν can hardly be right. Sauppe conjectures Ἐφέσιοι.

§ 9. ὥς εἰ ἑκατόν, 'about a hundred.'

§ 12. αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, 'crews and all.'

§ 13. ἀπέλυσεν, 'he let go free,' is a correction of Dindorf for the MS. κατέλευσεν. The sense evidently requires some such change in the text, as it can scarcely be true that Thrasyllus 'stoned to death' the cousin of his own friend Alcibiades. Others conjecture κατέλυσεν or κατηλέησε.

§ 15. ὄντες . . . ἤκοιεν: two different constructions are here used after ὥς.

§ 16. Ἀλκιβιάδης as the commander-in-chief alone is mentioned, though it appears from Plut. Alc. 29 that Thrasyllus also took part.

§ 18. Κορυφάσιον. Xenophon here gives rather a one-sided version of the recapture of Coryphasium or Pylos on the Messenian coast by the Spartans, which the Athenians had held ever since it was seized by their general Demosthenes in 425 B.C. Diodorus (xiii. 64) says that the place was at this time garrisoned by some Messenians, and when they were attacked by the Spartans, the Athenians sent a fleet of thirty vessels under Anytus to raise the siege. Anytus, however, was unable to weather Cape Malea, and therefore returned to Athens; whereupon the Messenians shortly after surrendered. Xenophon omits altogether to notice the important recapture of Nisaea by the Megarians about the same time (Diod. xiii. 65).

τοὺς ἐποίκους. It appears from Thuc. iii. 92, viii. 3 that when the Spartans in 426 B.C. settled 6000 colonists at Heraclea, they refused to allow any Achaeans to join in the settlement: and that in 413 B.C. king Agis had extorted money and demanded hostages of the Achaeans of Phthia.

§ 19. καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτός, κ.τ.λ. Dindorf prints this section in brackets for the same reasons as supr. i. 37.

§ 1. παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, i. e. the united forces of Alcibiades and Thrasyllus, who had wintered at Lampsacus, *supr.* 2. 15.

§ 2. Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον, now in possession of the Lacedaemonians (cf. *supr.* 1. 35).

§ 4. πίστει πεποιημένος, i. e. πρὸς τοὺς Βιθυνούς.

§ 6. Ἀλκιβιάδης. According to Plutarch's account, Alcibiades had been previously engaged in repelling Pharnabazus' attack on the outside of the Athenian siege works.

§ 7. στενοπορίαν. The narrow passage in between the river and the Athenian lines.

§ 8. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοί. Thrasyllus and Theramenes (cf. *Diod.* xiii. 66).

§ 9. τὸν φόρον . . . ὅσονπερ εἰώθεσαν. There is no evidence to show whether this φόρος was the εἰκοστή or five per cent. duty on all imports and exports, for which the Athenians in 413 B.C. commuted the tribute originally assessed by Aristides (*Thuc.* vii. 28); or whether in the interval they had returned to the old system.

§ 13. Πασιπίδας was exiled (i. 1. 32) on suspicion of treachery at Thasos. In the interval therefore he must have been recalled. These Spartan envoys, who were evidently sent to counteract the influence of the Athenian envoys, are not to be confused with those who (*infr.* 4. 2) met Pharnabazus at Gordium with the news of Cyrus' appointment to be satrap of Sardis.

ἤδη φεύγων (*supr.* 1. 27-32). Xenophon apparently inserts these words to denote that Hermocrates was not with the envoys as commissioned by the Syracusan government, but hoping to gain, as he actually did, some aid for the expedition which he was preparing against his country.

§ 15. Κλέαρχος : cf. i. 1. 35.

νεοδαμῶδων. The name given to newly manumitted Helots: what their privileges were, cannot be ascertained (cf. *Thuc.* iv. 26, 80, vii. 58).

§ 17. ἄλλαι. There seems to be no need to change the MS. reading to ἄλλα ἄλλη. The construction ἄλλαι—καί—καί—καὶ ὅπως ἄλλαι is somewhat irregular, but the meaning is plain.

ἐπιβάτης ordinarily means either a marine or a private passenger. There is no evidence to show that it was a title of an inferior naval officer (cf. *Thuc.* viii. 61).

§ 18. οἱ προδιδόντες. An anacoluthon: the nominative has no verb. The interrupted sentence is taken up again at § 23 with ἐπεὶ δέ.

§ 19. ὕστερον. Byzantium surrendered a second time to the Lacedaemonians in the autumn of 405 B.C. (cf. ii. 2. 1).

ἀπέφυγεν. Pregnant meaning, 'got off by saying.'

§ 20. ἀνολέξαντες. *Diodorus* (xiii. 66) and *Plutarch* (*Alcib.* 31) give

BOOK I. a much fuller and somewhat different account of the capture of Byzantium, detailing an elaborate stratagem of Alcibiades, and speaking of a hard-fought battle within the town.

III.

IV. § 2. οἱ τε Λακεδαιμονίων. Although Xenophon introduces these envoys with the article οἱ, as if already mentioned, they evidently cannot be the same as those mentioned in ch. 3. 13 as journeying to Persia. Probably therefore they had been despatched previously by the Spartans to procure the dismissal of Tissaphernes from Sardis.

πάντων ὧν by attraction for πάντα ὧν.

§ 3. πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. In the Anabasis (i. 9. 7) Xenophon describes Cyrus more exactly as σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων . . . οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον ἀθροίζεσθαι.

κάρανον. Doric for κάρηνος, 'chief.' Segaar however considers it to be a Persian word, to account apparently for Xenophon's explanation of the term.

§ 5. μὴ εἰδέναι. For the success of this measure cf. note on § 8.

§ 6. μέμψηται, sc. ὁ Κῦρος. Some commentators have needlessly conjectured μέμψοιντο, sc. οἱ πρεσβεῖς; for Pharnabazus aimed not so much to avoid the remonstrances of the envoys, as the displeasure of Cyrus.

§ 7. ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς, i.e. they returned to Athens in the spring of 405 B.C. just before the battle of Aegospotami.

οὐ παρὰ βασιλεία. Some word like ἀναγάγοι must be supplied from ἀπάξειν immediately preceding.

§ 8. βουλόμενος, κ.τ.λ. Cyrus' measures to prevent the news of his own arrival, and of the intention of the Persian king to aid the Lacedaemonians from reaching the Athenians, must have proved successful. Otherwise it is hard to believe that Alcibiades would have chosen this moment to return to Athens; whereas, supposing him to have been in ignorance, no moment could have seemed more propitious. He had restored the Athenian dominion over the Bosphorus, Propontis, and Hellespont, had concluded a favourable treaty with Pharnabazus, and had sent an embassy to the Persian king in the hope of bringing him over to the side of Athens.

§ 9. Θρασύβουλος here reappears in Xenophon's narrative, nothing having been said of him since the battle of Cyzicus in 410 B.C.; cf. supr. note on i. 32 and Diod. xiii. 72. From this passage it would seem that the Lacedaemonian party had once more gained the upper hand in the island.

§ 10. στρατηγούς ἐῴλοντο. It is not to be supposed that only three generals were elected instead of the usual ten. Xenophon probably names the three who were to command the fleet.

φεύγοντα. Thucydides (viii. 95) says that the people ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην . . . κατείναι in the year 411 B.C., but Alcibiades had never availed himself of the permission, so that perhaps now the decree may have been renewed. The curse pronounced over him by the priestly family of the Eumolpidae was certainly not recalled till his return in 408 B.C.

§ 11. Γυθείου. On the southern Laconian coast.

τοῦ . . . κατάπλου. The genitive may be made to depend on κατασκοπήν, or be regarded as a sort of partitive genitive dependent on ὅπως. The meaning is the same in either case.

§ 12. ἡρήμενους, sc. τοὺς πολίτας, from the preceding πόλις.

Πλυντήρια. The washing of the statue of the goddess took place on the 25th of Thargelion, i. e. about June 12; cf. Mommsen, Heortologie.

ἀνεπιτήδειον. So Plutarch, Alcib. 34 ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα τῶν ἀποφράδων τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἀπρακτον Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζουσιν· οὐ φιλοφρόνως οὖν οὐδ' εὐμενῶς ἐδόκει προσδεχομένη τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἡ θεὸς παρακαλύπτεσθαι καὶ ἀπελαύνειν αὐτῆς.

§ 13. ὄχλος . . . θαυμάζοντες, a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν.

οἱ μὲν corresponds to οἱ δὲ § 17.

μόνος, i. e. alone of those who had been banished at the same time.

ἀπελογήθη ὡς. Dindorf incloses the words in brackets as a gloss: ἀπελογήθη is used passively.

ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ; 'from the resources of the state'; cf. i. 6. 7 κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατόν.

§ 14. ὑπερβαλόμενοι, MSS. ὑπερβαλλόμενοι, literally 'having put off that which seemed to be just to another time'; i. e. the demand for an immediate trial, which seemed to be just.

ἰστέρησαν. The oratio recta is somewhat irregular, but is due to the length of the sentence.

§ 15. δουλεύων is appropriate as expressing the relation between Alcibiades as a subject, and the Persian king as a master.

§ 16. εἶναι. Dindorf inserts εἶναι from one MS. It is a contracted expression for τῶν τοιούτων οἷοςπερ αὐτὸς ἦν ὄντων εἶναι, 'they denied that it was the part of men who were such as he was, to need, etc.'

οἷοισπερ πρότερον, κ.τ.λ. The words, as they stand in the text, are a correction, almost universally adopted, of the unintelligible MSS. τοιοῦτος οἶος. But even so corrected it is very hard to extract any meaning out of them. τοῖς . . . ἐχθροῖς is the dat. depending on ὑπάρχειν, and οἷοισπερ is the dat. instead of the nom. by attraction after τοιούτοις: the sequence of cases δυνασθεῖσιν . . . λειφθέντας is very irregular. Perhaps therefore the passage might be rendered: 'they said that nothing was left to his enemies except to appear to be what they had been before

Book I.

IV.

(i. e. to try to appear to be as powerful as they really had been in the oligarchy of 411 B.C.), and afterwards, when they should really have gained power, to make away with the best citizens, and thus being themselves alone left remaining, to be courted by their fellow-citizens for the very reason that they would have no better men to employ.'

§ 17. τῶν τε φοβερῶν, κ.τ.λ. γενέσθαι is the infinitive dependent on φοβερῶν. Translate: 'and that there was a danger that he alone would be the author of the evils that it was feared would befall the state': φοβερῶν . . . γενέσθαι = φοβερῶν μὴ γένηται.

§ 19. Join παρεσκευασμένων μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν.

§ 20. αὐτοκράτωρ. For a parallel cf. Thuc. vi. 8, when Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus were appointed στρατηγοὶ αὐτοκράτορες.

σῶσαι, i. e. to secure what remained and to recover what was lost of the Athenian power.

πρότερον μὲν. For the first time since the ἐπιτείχισις was established at Decelea, Alcibiades now conducted the procession to Eleusis, as of old, along the Sacred Way. He evidently meant it to be not only a military demonstration, but an act of atonement to the priestly party, whose hatred he had so deeply incurred (cf. Thuc. viii. 53). Plutarch indeed says that he roused such enthusiasm among the common people, that they hoped that he would make himself tyrant (cf. Thuc. vi. 15).

§ 21. τρίτῳ μηνί. The Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated on the 20th of Boedromion, i. e. Oct. 4: the Plynteria on the 25th of Thargelion, i. e. June 12. Alcibiades therefore must have stayed at Athens within a week of four months.

ἡρημῆνοι κατὰ γῆν, i. e. Alcibiades selected them out of the college of generals to command the troops on board his fleet. Diodorus (xiii. 72) erroneously mentions Adimantus and Thrasybulus. For the latter was still absent from Athens (cf. Hell. i. 4. 9, 5. 11). It appears from i. 4. 22, 5. 18 that Conon must have accompanied Alcibiades as second commander of the fleet, as he was left by him to carry on the siege of Andros.

§ 22. τῆς Ἀνδρίας χώρας. This failure to capture Andros was made a matter of reproach against Alcibiades by his enemies at Athens (Plut. Alc. 35).

§ 23. ἐπολέμει. Diodorus and Plutarch state that Alcibiades made plundering expeditions to Caria, Cos, and Rhodes, apparently in the winter 408-407 B.C.

V.

§ 1. πρότερον τούτων, i. e. a little before Alcibiades sailed for Andros and Samos, in the autumn of 408 B.C. Xenophon now proceeds to bring his account of the doings in the enemy's camp up to the same date.

τῆς ναυαρχίας. The origin of the admiralty at Sparta, like that of other Lacedaemonian institutions, is shrouded in some obscurity. Herodotus (iii. 56) speaks of a Spartan naval expedition undertaken against Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, about 525 B.C., but does not mention who was the commander. He does however apply the title of *ναύαρχος* to Eurybiades at the battle of Salamis (viii. 42), but he calls king Leotychides, who commanded the Greek fleet at Mycale in 479 B.C. *στρατηγὸς καὶ ναύαρχος* (viii. 131), showing that at that date the office was not permanently separated from the kingship. From this time, with the doubtful exceptions of the regent Pausanias and Dorcis (Thuc. i. 95), we hear nothing of the admiralty till the time of the Peloponnesian War, after the outbreak of which till its close a tolerably complete list of admirals can be made out all the time that the Spartans maintained a fleet at sea. The list begins with Cnemus 430–429 B.C. (Thuc. ii. 66, 80, 93), who seems, like the other Spartan magistrates, to have entered on his office in September. Alcidas succeeded after a year's interval, 428–427 (Thuc. iii. 16, 26), and then after another year's interval, Thrasytelidas, 426–425 (Thuc. iv. 11). In 425 the Spartans lost their entire fleet at Pylos, and built no more ships until after the Athenian disaster at Syracuse. In 413–412 Melancredas was admiral of the newly built fleet: he was followed in the two next years by Astyochus (Thuc. viii. 20) and Mindarus (Thuc. viii. 85), who perished at the battle of Cyzicus in the spring of 410 B.C. It is doubtful whether Pasippidas, who was commissioned to collect together what ships he could (Xen. i. 1. 32) was actually admiral or not, and it is doubtful again, when the titular admiral Cratesippidas took command over the ships that he had thus collected, although Xenophon narrates the fact as occurring apparently in the campaign of 411–410. At any rate Cratesippidas was not succeeded by Lysander till the autumn of 408 (Xen. i. 5. 1). At the end of his year of office Lysander was followed by Callicratidas, who was drowned at the battle of Arginusae in 406 B.C. (c. June). After an interval of some months the fleet was handed over to Lysander as *ἐπιστολεύς* or second in command, the nominal admiral being Aracus. Then there is a gap of one year in our information, during which Lysander was again actual commander of the fleet, whoever may have been the titular admiral, and for the following year (404–403) Libys, the brother of Lysander, was appointed to be admiral.

As to the powers of the office Aristotle (Pol. ii. 9. 33) calls it *σχεδὸν ἑτέρα βασιλεία*—a criticism which seems, however, to be true only of Lysander, and possibly of Teleutias, the brother of king Agesilaus (392–391 B.C.); and which seems tacitly to refer to Aristotle's previous definition of the kingship as merely a *στρατηγία διὰ βίου*. In this respect the admiral was indeed another king, having a power independent of

and parallel with that of the two ordinary kings. But in another respect his position was far inferior and more precarious: for the office was, as a general rule (the case of Cratesippidas, who was sent out to command whatever ships he could find, being apparently an exception), an annual one—at least so it would appear from the list of admirals that can be made out with tolerable certainty so long as the Spartans maintained a fleet at sea—and moreover the same individual could not legally hold it twice (Xen. ii. 1. 7). In the case of Lysander indeed the ephors discovered an easy evasion of the law, by appointing him for two years *ἐπιστολεύς* or second in command to a merely nominal admiral: and it was while holding this subordinate position that Lysander attained to his greatest power, and acted like a sovereign prince in the Aegean. Thus at the siege of Athens (405–404) he appears as commander of the fleet quite on an equality with the kings Agis and Pausanias in command of the army, and further to have the advantage over them in that his action was not hampered by the presence of a colleague. Again, when any admiral had proved himself inefficient or untrustworthy, the Spartan government preferred, as they did with the kings, rather to send out *σύμβουλοι* to advise him than simply to deprive him of his office (cf. Thuc. vi. 85, viii. 39), unless this was absolutely necessary.

The office of the *ἐπιστολεύς* or second in command has already been referred to in the case of Lysander. But in ordinary cases the secretary was appointed, as Pollux (i. 96) declares, to be simply *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόλου διάδοχος τοῦ ναύαρχου*. Thus after the death of Mindarus, his secretary Hippocrates took the command of the fleet (Thuc. i. 1, 23), and the admiral Callicratidas left his secretary Eteonicus at the head of the squadron blockading Conon at Mytilene, while he himself sailed to meet the Athenians at Arginusae, and after his death his place was filled by Eteonicus until the arrival of a definitely appointed successor.

As to the method of election to the admiralship nothing at all is known, though it is plain that the post must have been regarded as of great significance in the struggle of political parties at Sparta. Thus the choice of Lysander three times to command the fleet, once as admiral and twice as secretary, followed by the choice of his brother Libys and later of his friend Anaxibius, points to the supremacy of his party in the home government, and similarly the appointment of his opponent Callicratidas in the autumn of 407 must mean a temporary check to his policy, though but few details can be made out from the confused and unchronological account of Plutarch.

ἰβδομήκοντα. This was the first fleet the Spartans had collected since the battle of Cyzicus, 410 B.C. (sup. 1. 18).

εἰς Σάρδεϊς: from Gordium in Phrygia Minor (sup. 4. 3), where he had been in the spring of 408.

§ 2. τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος πρέσβεσιν: these must be the same as in 4. 2.

§ 5. τὰς συνθήκας (cf. Thuc. viii. 29, 45, 58). One mina = 100 drachmae = 600 obols, or three obols a day for every sailor in a crew of 200.

§ 9. ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου (cf. Thuc. viii. 46).

μηδὲ οὔτινες = μηδένες οὔτινές εἰσι: 'none of the Greeks whatever.'

§ 11. Cf. Introd. § 2 on Xenophon's chronology for the reasons for putting the beginning of the new year at this point.

Θρασύβουλον. Xenophon does not relate how Thrasybulus sailed from Thrace and Thasos (supr. 4. 9), nor why he was now fortifying Phocaea. This town was occupied by the Spartan admiral Astyochus 412 B. C. (cf. Thuc. viii. 31), and after Arginusae, 406 B. C., the Peloponnesians fled to it for refuge. But, like Cyzicus, it may have been un-walled, and so liable to occupation by either side, so that there is no need to change *τειχίζειν* into *ἐπιτειχίζειν*. Diodorus (xiii. 73) has a different story altogether, that Alcibiades sailed not to Phocaea, but to Clazomenae.

Ἀντίοχον. Plutarch (Alc. 36) calls him an experienced seaman, but rash and inconsiderate. In ch. 10 he relates a story of the manner in which, as a boy, he gained the friendship of Alcibiades.

§ 13. ὡς ἕκαστος ἤνοιξεν: 'as each got clear of land.'

§ 15. Δελφίνιον καὶ Ἡίονα. Delphinium was in Chios. Diodorus (xiii. 76) ascribes the capture of Delphinium and Teos not to Lysander, but to Callicratidas, and therefore to the year 406 B. C. Hence some commentators have proposed to read *Τέων* or *Τήϊους* instead of *Ἡίονα*.

§ 16. ἡγγέλθη. Plutarch (Alc. 36) makes a certain Thrasybulus, son of Thraso [to be distinguished from the famous Thrasybulus], return to Athens immediately after the battle, and there formally impeach Alcibiades for general misconduct. Diodorus (xiii. 73, 74) here again gives quite a different account: the general discontent at Athens was, according to him, increased by the accusations of some Cymaeen envoys, who complained that, after the battle of Notium, Alcibiades had made a descent upon Cyme and ravaged its land, notwithstanding that it was an allied state. But something must be wrong in Diodorus' account, because Thucydides (viii. 31, 100) distinctly states that Cyme was on the Peloponnesian side. Nepos (Alc. 7) has yet another version, that Alcibiades was accused at Athens, not for the defeat at Notium, which he does not mention, but for his failure in an attempt upon Cyme.

ἀλλους δέκα. Since the battle of Notium must have taken place in the spring of 407, and elections were held at Athens about May 1, it would seem that Xenophon must mean, not an extraordinary election of generals to replace Alcibiades, but the ordinary elections for the year 407-406, at which Alcibiades failed to secure re-election. Other-

BOOK I. wise we should expect to hear not of ten, but only of two or three new generals appointed to supersede him in command of the fleet. Cf. Introduct. p. 32.

V.

§ 17. τὰ ἑαυτοῦ (Diod. xiii. 74, Plut. Alc. 36): a castle named Pactyes near the Thracian town of Bysanthe on the Propontis.

§ 18. τῆς Ἀνδρου, where apparently he had been left by Alcibiades (i. 4. 23).

Φανοσθένης: since the name of Phanosthenes does not occur in the list of the new generals, it would seem that he was one of the generals of the preceding year, and that he was sent to replace Conon at Andros in the interval which elapsed between the election of the new generals in May, and their entering office in July.

§ 19. Δωριέα: cf. i. 1. 2, Thuc. viii. 35, 84.

ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. Rhodes was one of the subject allies of Athens, and therefore under her jurisdiction.

παρ' αὐτοῖς, i. e. at Thurii.

ἐλέησαντες, because of the fame he had won as an Olympic victor. Cf. Thuc. iii. 8.

§ 20. ἑβδομήκοντα. Plutarch (Lys. 4) speaks of the impoverishment of Athens at this juncture.

VI.

§ 1. ἡ σελήνη, κ.τ.λ. On the chronological data see Introduct. p. 20 sqq. This eclipse occurred on April 15, 406 B.C.

ὁ παλαιός, κ.τ.λ. Probably the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis, called 'old' in opposition to the newer Parthenon.

§ 4. τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων. Diodorus (xiii. 70) states that Lysander during his period of office organized the various oligarchical clubs in the Ionian states in his own favour, promising them the government of their cities (cf. ii. 2. 2).

ἀνεπιτηδείων. Translate: 'since often unsuitable men were appointed, who had only just studied naval matters, and did not know how to employ men.' Dindorf corrects the MS. reading to ἀντ' ἐπιτηδείων γενομένων, and omits οὐ before γιγνωσκόντων,—changes, which certainly give an easier meaning, but there seems to be no absolute necessity to change the text.

§ 5. πρὸς ἃ ἐγὼ τε, κ.τ.λ.: 'in relation to those measures for which I am myself ambitious, and our country is accused, etc.'

§ 8. πέμψας τριήρεις. Xenophon nowhere relates the result of their mission.

§ 11. ἐκεῖνα: the money from Lacedaemon.

θαυμάζειν: a stronger word than θεραπεύειν.

§ 12. οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι: 'those who were accused of opposing him.'

ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, sc. δοῦναι : 'promising themselves to give money from their private means.'

ἐφοδιασάμενος κ.τ.λ. : 'having had his seamen paid five drachmae apiece.'

§ 13. τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἔχόντων : 'those who were in power.'

§ 15. τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς. Grote (vii. 406) overlooks the fact that Callicratidas allowed the Athenians to be sold.

μοιχῶντα. Plutarch ('non posse suaviter,' etc., xviii. 6) explains : αἰσχροῦς καὶ κρύφα πειρᾶν καὶ παραβιάζεσθαι τὴν θάλατταν.

§ 16. εἰς ὀλίγας : cf. supr. 5. 20.

ἐκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα : the thirty Athenian ships captured § 17 seem to be reckoned by anticipation : for according to § 3 and Diod. xiii. 76 the number was now 140.

§ 17. κατακωλυθεῖς, i. e. prevented from beaching his ships under the city walls.

§ 19. κοίλην ναῦν : 'the ship's hold.'

τὰ παραρρήματα : what particular kind of coverings these were, is unknown. Apparently the crews remained below during the day-time to escape the notice of the enemy, and to fit out the ships. They had to wait five days before they caught the Peloponnesians off their guard.

§ 20. ὥς . . . εἶναι : ὥς is here used with the infinitive, like ὥστε.

§ 21. ὥς ἕκαστοι ἦνοιγον : 'as they severally got clear of land.' This seems a simpler rendering than to take ὥς, as Peter does, as qualifying ἕκαστοι only, and τε as copulative, ἦνοιγον . . . ἐβοήθουν. The logical order of ideas appears to be somewhat confused in the phrases ἀγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες . . . ἐγειρόμενοι . . . εἰσβάντες.

The detail with which Xenophon narrates this incident of personal skill and courage is noticeable.

§ 22. Διομέδων. Xenophon does not say where he was coming from : from the context it would appear that it was not from Athens.

§ 24. δούλους. To enrol slaves, even as rowers in the fleet, was a very exceptional measure. These slaves who fought at Arginusae were rewarded with their freedom, and were given allotments of land together with the same political privileges as the Plataeans enjoyed at Athens (cf. Arist. Frogs 190, 693 ; Müller, Fr. Hist. Gr. i. 56, 80).

τῶν ἱππέων : the knights formed the second of Solon's five classes and were usually exempt from naval service (cf. Thuc. iii. 16).

§ 27. ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις : three small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.

§ 28. ἀνέσχεν, sc. ὁ χειμῶν, 'when the storm ceased.'

§ 29. Ἐρασινίδης. Xenophon nowhere relates how he escaped from Mytilene, in which, according to § 16, he was blockaded together with

BOOK I. Conon and Leon : he may have been on one of the two ships that Conon despatched to Athens, *supr.* § 1.

VI. ταξιάρχων : the taxiarchs, like the strategi, to whom they were subordinate, were ten in number, and each of them commanded one of the ten tribal divisions of the hoplites.

ἐπὶ μιᾶς, 'in line.'

ἐπὶ δὲ ταύταις, i. e. 'behind,' so as to form a double line on the two wings, the line in the centre being left single (*cf. supr. ἐπετέτακτο*).

ναύαρχων : the position of these officers in the Athenian navy is not known.

§ 30. Λυσίας is not mentioned in the list of the ten generals, whose election is related (i. 5. 16). He may have been appointed in the place of Archestratus, who had already been killed at Mytilene (*cf. Lysias xxi. 8*).

§ 31. διέκπλουν, i. e. the Athenian line was doubled on the two wings to avoid the manœuvre of the διέκπλους. In this manœuvre the object was first to row rapidly past the enemy's ship, breaking his oars in the passage, and then to turn rapidly round and bear down upon his disabled side.

§ 32. εἴη . . . ἔχον. εἴη is here used as an auxiliary verb with a participle : for the periphrasis *cf. iv. 8. 4*.

οἰκεῖται. The sense requires the future tense. Cobet therefore reads οἰκιεῖται : but Classen, in a note on *Thuc. iii. 58*, regards οἰκεῖται as itself a contracted form of the future.

§ 34. πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. The number is said to be twelve (i. 7. 30), but thirteen may have sunk in the interval.

τῶν πασῶν is Dindorf's correction for the MS. πασῶν.

§ 35. διεκώλυσεν. From this passage it would appear that the storm stopped both projects ; but i. 7. 5, 31, and ii. 3. 35, would seem to imply that the rest of the fleet at least made a start for Mytilene, though perhaps the imperfect tenses there used might be interpreted to mean no more than the wish, here expressed by βουλομένους.

§ 37. οὐριον. Though the wind was favourable for sailing S. W. towards Chios, Conon thought it better to wait till it was more moderate (§ 38), before he sailed E. to meet the Athenian fleet.

The Scholiast on *Arist. Ran. 1532*, quoting from Aristotle, represents the Lacedaemonians after this defeat to have again offered terms of peace to the Athenians, which were again rejected through the influence of Cleophon. Grote (viii. 1) thinks that he has confused together the two battles of Cyzicus and Arginusae.

τὴν ταχίστην, *sc. ὁδὸν ἀποπλεῖν*.

VII. § 1. ἔπαυσαν. Whether the battle of Arginusae was fought in July or August 406 B. C., by this time the year of office of the generals for

407-406 B. C. must have expired, but a *de facto* prolongation was quite usual. Probably, therefore, on hearing the news, the Athenians put an end to their prolonged command, and chose in their place, from the new college of generals for 406-405, Adimantus and Philocles to be the colleagues of Conon (who must therefore have been re-elected in May, 406) in charge of the fleet. It may however be simpler to suppose that the generals had all been re-elected in May, and were now, with the exception of Conon, deprived of their office.

§ 2. *προεστῆκώς*, cf. Arist. Frogs 416-421, especially *ὅς νυνὶ δημαγωγεῖ διωβελίας*. So Dindorf for the MS. *Δεκελείας*. Gilbert supposes the word *ἐπιμελόμενος* to imply no official powers, but to mean simply that Archedemus procured the renewal of the Theoric fund, the distribution of which had ceased since the Sicilian disaster; cf. Aeschines (Fals. Leg. 76) who says of him *διεφθαρκῶς νομῇ χρημάτων τὸν δῆμον*. But the phrase *ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν* is generally used of the fine imposed by a magistrate for disobedience to his orders. Gilbert therefore is obliged to interpret it as meaning here the *proposal* of a fine only before a *δικαστήριον*, comparing Arist. Wasps 768, 9. *Δεκελείας* can hardly be the right reading, as it was now occupied by the Spartans, and there is no other evidence for the existence of such an office.

§ 3. *Τιμοκράτους*. Timocrates, Callixenus (§ 8), Lyciscus (§ 13), and Menicles (§ 34), who take a prominent part in the proceedings of the trial, are otherwise unknown men.

§ 5. *σφίσι* for *αὐτοῖς*, cf. vi. 5. 35.

Θρασυβούλῳ. Thrasybulus, for some reason or other, does not seem to have taken an active part against the generals.

§ 8. *Ἀπατούρια*, celebrated in the month of Pyanepsion (c. Nov. 10), was peculiarly a family festival, because the young men were enrolled in the *φρατρίαι* at it.

ὥς δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντες: 'pretending that they were kinsmen.' For *ὥς δὴ* cf. *infr.* v. 4. 3 *πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὥς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπίοντες*, and similar passages in Cyrop. v. 4. 4, vii. 4. 3, Symp. viii. 4. Diodorus (xiii. 101) represents these men, who attended the assembly in great numbers in the garb of mourners, to have been the real kinsmen of the deceased: accordingly Breitenbach (note ad loc.) proposes to translate *ὥς δὴ—ὄντες*, 'quippe qui essent,' 'since they were'; with which might be compared Cyrop. vi. 2. 4 *ὁ Κῦρος . . . ὥς δὴ οὐδὲν σμικρὸν ἐπινοῶν πράττειν*. But if that were Xenophon's meaning, he would probably have written *παρεσκεύασαν τοὺς συγγενεῖς τῶν ἀπολωλότων* instead of *παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους*. Cf. Grote, vii. 434.

§ 9. *δύο ὕδρίας*. Some commentators have maintained, and probably rightly, that this method of open voting was unconstitutional, because, where the interests of individuals were concerned, the voting was always

BOOK I. by secret ballot, although it appears from Lycurgus (Leocr. 146. 149) that the votes could still be kept secret even with two urns. Cf. ii. 4. 9.

VII.

§ 10. τοῖς ἑνδεκα: the eleven magistrates whose duty it was to superintend the safe custody and execution of condemned prisoners.

τῆς θεοῦ, Athena.

§ 11. τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους. Diodorus speaks as if the generals had neglected only to bury the dead, not to rescue the living.

§ 12. παράνομα: cf. Introd. p. 43.

§ 14. Τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων. The πρυτάνεις of the φυλὴ πρυτανεύουσα had special seats assigned them, and the whole assembly was presided over by the ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων, who was chosen by lot for one day only. On this occasion Socrates was ἐπιστάτης (Xen. Mem. i. 1. 18).

§ 18. ἐκείνων, i.e. Pericles and Diomedon, whose fault it was that all six generals had been accused, though the second ἐκείνων must be Theramenes and Thrasybulus.

§ 19. Οὐκ, i.e. οὐ κινδυνεύουσι, κ.τ.λ.

καὶ ὅθεν, i.e. καὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἐξ ὧν, κ.τ.λ. 'doing those things by means of which.'

σφᾶς αὐτοὺς = ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς.

§ 20. Κανωνοῦ ψήφισμα: cf. Introd. p. 44.

§ 23. κατὰ ἓνα ἕκαστον. Separate trial ought to be given to the accused, whether they were tried κατὰ τὸ Κανωνοῦ ψήφισμα before the assembly, or κατὰ τὸν νόμον against sacrilege and treachery before a δικαστήριον.

ἐάν τε . . . ἐάν τε μή: apparently used for πότερον . . . ἢ μή. Probably the text is corrupt, as no similar usage is found elsewhere in Xenophon.

§ 24. οὐκ ἀδικοῦντες ἀπολοῦνται. Cobet corrects ἀδικοῦντες to ἀδίκως; but if the reading be retained, the negative must apply to the whole sentence, i.e. they will *not* perish, because they are *not* in the wrong; cf. infr. iii. 5. 18 οὐκέτι ἡσυχίαν ἔχων ἀνέμενε, Thuc. vi. 33 οὐ καταφοβηθεὶς ἐπισχόσω.

§ 26. ἢ μή οὐκ, κ.τ.λ.: supply δέδιτε from δεδιότες.

οὐκ, ἂν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, κ.τ.λ. denies the preceding clause: 'Are you afraid, that you will not, etc., *but not afraid* [sc. that you will not put to death whomsoever you like], if you condemn him contrary to the law, etc.'

§ 27. ἀποκτείναιτε . . . ἡμαρτηκότες. In this passage the MSS. vary between ἀποκτείνητε, ἀποκτείνετε, ἀποκτῆναιτε and ἀποκτείναιτε, and in place of μεταμελήσει the MS. D gives μεταμελήσῃ. The simplest way out of the difficulty seems to be to read with Dindorf ἀποκτείναιτε from H, and to adopt Peter's conjecture μεταμελήσαι. The latter alteration overcomes the difficulty of beginning a new sentence at ἀναμνήσθητε

without a connecting particle, and makes the infinitive μεταμελήσαι the subject of ἀλγεινὸν καὶ ἀνωφελές. ἡμαρτηκότες is in the nominative by attraction to the subject of ἀναμνήσθητε.

περὶ θανάτου ἀνθρώπου. So Dindorf. The MS. reading περὶ θανάτου ἀνθρώπου, which Peter retains and translates, 'about men destined to death,' on the analogy of Eur. I. T. 1113 παρθένος εὐδοκίμων γάμων seems to be quite impossible.

§ 28. Ἀριστάρχῳ. For his conduct cf. Thuc. viii. 90, 92, 98. Lycurgus (Leocr. 115) says that he was condemned and executed, but for a different reason.

§ 29. μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, sc. ποιεῖτε ταῦτα.

ἐαυτῶν = ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, 'the laws which are your own.'

ἐπὶ κέρως, 'in column.'

§ 30. τῆς αὐτοῦ συμμορίας: this can only refer to the division of the fleet commanded by each strategus, since the well-known system of Symmoriae at Athens for providing money for war expenses was not introduced till 377 B.C.

δώδεκα: cf. i. 6. 34.

§ 31. τριηράρχων. Probably the word is interpolated from i. 6. 35, as taxiarchs were left behind as well.

ἐπλεον. The imperfect must mean that the attempt failed; cf. i. 6. 35 and ii. 3. 35.

τὰ μὲν . . . πραχθέντα is dependent on ὑπέχειν λόγον, the construction being κατὰ σύνεσιν, not grammatical.

§ 33. ἀγνωμονεῖν . . . οὐχ ἱκανούς. Two constructions are possible: (1) sc. αὐτούς. 'Do not think that they were wanting in right feeling (or judgment), who were unable,' etc., i.e. do not attribute to a want of feeling on the part of *men*, what was really due to a necessity imposed by the *gods*. The passage would be much easier if we had τοὺς οὐχ ἱκανούς. (2) 'Do not show yourselves to be unreasonable by convicting of treachery,' etc. Breitenbach, while adopting the first construction, takes ἀγνωμονεῖν as meaning 'to act unfairly,' i.e. treacherously, on the analogy of Demosthenes, De Cor. xviii. 94.

§ 34. ὑπομοσαμένου: cf. Introd. p. 45.

οἱ παρόντες ἔξ: cf. § 2.

§ 35. μετέμελε. Cf. Plato, Apol. 32 b τοὺς δέκα στρατηγούς, τοὺς οὐκ ἀναλομένους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας, ἐβουλεύσασθε ἀθρόους κρίνειν, παρανόμως, ὡς ἐν τῇ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἔδοξεν.

προβολάς. A προβολή was a complaint laid before the assembly against any individual before a formal indictment was brought. If the people decided that it was made with just grounds, then the complainant had greater hopes of success, if he followed it up with a legal accusation; cf. Schömann, Grk. Antiq. p. 392, E. T.

BOOK I.

VII.

Κλεοφῶν: cf. i. 1. 23, note. According to Lysias (xiii. 12) the oligarchical party contrived his execution during the siege of Athens, because he had vehemently opposed the proposal to demolish part of the Long Walls, which formed part of the conditions offered by the Lacedaemonians. Theramenes at the time was absent in Lysander's camp. Nothing is known of the particular *στάσις* here referred to.

ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς, sc. κατῆλθον, in the autumn 403 B.C.; cf. infr. ii. 4. 39.

BOOK II.

I. § 1. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Χίῳ, κ.τ.λ. After the battle of Arginusae, Eteonicus, left in chief command by the death of Callicratidas, had led the Peloponnesian fleet from Mytilene to Methymna, and then on to Chios; cf. supr. i. 6. 38.

τῆς ὥρας, i.e. τῶν ὥραίων καρπῶν.

τῇ Χίῳ ἐπιθησόμενοι. Chios had been the first of the Athenian allies to revolt after the Sicilian disaster, 412 B.C. (cf. Thuc. viii. 14), and ever since had adhered to the Peloponnesian side.

§ 2. ἀπόρως μὲν. The correlative sentence with δέ begins § 3 ἀναλαβὼν δέ.

τί χρῶτο, 'how he should behave in this matter.'

τό τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς. The correlative sentence would naturally be expected to begin with τό τε ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς: but Xenophon in τό τ αὖ ἀπολλύναι rather carries on the thought suggested in the previous subordinate sentence ἀν κρατήσωσι.

συμμάχους, i.e. the soldiers of the allies in the Spartan army, who had joined the conspiracy.

εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους: for εἰς after διαβολήν instead of πρὸς cf. iii. 5. 2, Thuc. iii. 109.

σχοίεν . . . ὦσιν. Notice the change of mood; the optative is in accordance with the rules of oblique narration: the subjunctive expresses more vividly Eteonicus' own state of mind.

§ 6. συλλεγόντες: cf. i. 6. 4. This assembly is probably to be traced to the influence of the oligarchical clubs organized by Lysander two years before.

εὖ φερόμενον: for the opposite cf. i. 5. 17 πονήρως φερόμενος.

§ 7. ἐπιστολέα: who was second in command; cf. i. 1. 23.

§ 8. τῆς τοῦ Ξέρξου, κ.τ.λ. The form Δαρείου occurring between the form Δαριαίου in § 8 and § 9 betrays the hand of an interpolator.

διὰ τῆς κόρης: for the custom cp. Cyropaedia viii. 3. 10 οἱ ἵππεῖς . . . παρήσαν . . . διεϊρκότες τὰς χεῖρας διὰ τῶν κανδύων, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐτι διεῖρουσιν, ὅταν ὀρᾷ βασιλεὺς.

§ 9. **Τεραμένης**: the husband of Xerxes' sister; cf. Thuc. viii. 58.

§ 11. **ἔχου**, i. e. had received already.

§ 12. **οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοί**, i. e. Conon, Adimantus, and Philocles; cf. i. 7. 1.

πρὸς τὸ ναυτικόν: the force of the preposition after **παρεσκευάζοντο** is obscure. Breitenbach believes that some words must have fallen out, describing the reinforcement of thirty ships, which the Athenians received between the battles of Arginusae and Aegospotami; cf. i. 6. 25 with ii. 1. 20.

§ 13. **Καδουσίῳ**, dwelling on the west coast of the Caspian Sea.

§ 14. **τούτου ἕνεκεν**, i. e. as far as money was concerned.

παρέδειξε: 'enumerated, and at the same time handed over'; so *infr.* ii. 3. 8.

τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα: 'the money in reserve,' i. e. the ready-money stored in the treasury, opposed to the **φόροι**.

ὥς . . . φιλίας: partitive genitive. 'How friendly he was towards,' etc.

§ 15. **Κεράμειον κόλπον**: on the south coast of Caria.

§ 16. **τὴν βασιλέως**, sc. **χώραν**.

παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, κ.τ.λ. The Athenians must therefore have intended to fight Lysander on his return voyage somewhere between Ephesus and Rhodes, but he contrived to elude them, apparently by coasting along the shore, while they sailed across the open sea; cf. § 17 **πελάγιοι**.

προσείλοντο. Apparently three generals only seemed insufficient to command a fleet of 180 vessels in a general engagement, so that the crews took upon themselves to elect three more, following their own precedent at Samos in 411 B.C. (Thuc. viii. 76).

§ 17. **πρὸς τε τῶν πλοίων**, κ.τ.λ., i. e. in order to prevent the corn ships sailing from the Hellespont to Athens.

αὐτῶν: the Lacedaemonians.

§ 18. **σύμμαχον**: cf. i. 2. 15.

§ 19. **σώματα** = 'persons': for this use of **σώματα** cf. *Cyropaedia* vii. 5. 73 **τῶν ἐλόντων εἶναι καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα**.

§ 20. **κατὰ πόδας**: adverbially, 'quickly.'

ἐν Ἑλαιοῦντι: in the Chersonese at the entrance of the Hellespont. Here the Athenians anchored to prevent the passage of Lysander, whose previous arrival they had not yet heard of.

§ 21. **σταδίους ὥς πεντεκαίδεκα**. Just under two English miles.

§ 22. **παραβλήματα**: probably much the same kind of coverings as those called **παραρρύματα** in i. 6. 19.

§ 23. **ἐν μετώπῳ**, 'in line,' opposite to **ἐπὶ κέρως**.

BOOK II.

§ 24. ἐπανάγοντο : imperfect, to express that the Athenians also did so for four days.

I.

§ 25. Ἀλκιβιάδης : last mentioned as sailing to these forts, i. 5. 17. According to Diodorus (xiii. 105) he now demanded a share in the command of the fleet. Lysias (xiv. 38) actually accuses Alcibiades of having betrayed, in conjunction with Adimantus, the Athenians at Aegospotami in revenge for this repulse. But, if Xenophon's account of the circumstances be correct, any treachery on his part seems to have been quite impossible, and in the following year it was Adimantus and his party who contrived the assassination of Alcibiades.

§ 26. αὐτοὶ . . . ἐκείνον : for this the regular construction of nominative and accusative in oratio obliqua cf. ii. 2. 17, Thuc. iv. 28.

§ 27. τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένους, i. e. those who had been ordered by him to follow the Athenian movements, sup. § 24.

§ 28. τὸν ἐπίπλουν. Diodorus (xiii. 106) gives a totally different account of the battle, making the Athenians, led by Philocles, take the offensive.

δίκροτοι, i. e. with only two out of the three tiers of oars manned.

Πάραλος : this and the Σαλαμινία were sacred vessels used by the Athenians for religious missions, for conveying ambassadors, and for carrying the commands of the home government to the generals : cf. infra vi. 2. 14 ; Thuc. vi. 53 ; viii. 86.

συνέλεξεν : cf. sup. διεσκεδασμένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

εἰς τὰ τευχύδρια, i. e. of Sestos. Xenophon omits to relate its capture. Diodorus (l. c.) puts the event immediately after the battle.

§ 29. τὰ μεγάλα . . . ἱστία. Lysander must have left them behind to lighten his ships for rowing ; cf. i. 1. 13. Xenophon says nothing more about Conon till just before his great victory over the Lacedaemonians at Cnidus in 394 B. C. ; cf. iii. 4. 1.

§ 30. τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους : according to Plutarch (Lys. 11) 3000 in number.

§ 31. τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα. So Plutarch (Lys. 9), Philocles ἐπεισε ψηφίσασθαι τὸν δῆμον ἀποκόπτειν τὸν δεξιὸν ἀντίχειρα τῶν ἀλίσκομένων, ὅπως δόρυ μὲν φέρειν μὴ δύνωνται, κώπην δ' ἐλαύνωσι.

§ 32. ᾗτιάθη . . . μέντοι, i. e. in contradiction to the pretended reason for sparing his life. The evidence against Adimantus is very doubtful. Lysias (xiv. 38) speaks of Alcibiades τὰς ναῦς Λυσάνδρῳ μετὰ Ἀδειμάντου προδοῦναι, where he is certainly misrepresenting much of Alcibiades' conduct. Indeed, in another speech (ii. 58), he regards the cause of the disaster as doubtful, εἴτε ἡγεμόνος κακία εἴτε θεῶν διανοία. Pausanias (iv. 17, x. 9) preserves the Athenian tradition, that Adimantus and Tydeus were the traitors, the latter being the bitterest opponent of Alcibiades. Isocrates (v. 62) expresses no decided opinion. The ac-

cusation of treachery brought by Conon against Adimantus (mentioned by Demosthenes xix. 191) belongs to a much later date, c. 393, after the amnesty of 403. In the midst of such uncertain evidence it is impossible to form a definite opinion either way, especially as accusations of treachery to account for so irretrievable a disaster would lie so ready to hand.

παρανομεῖν. The MS. D has interpolated in it after *παρανομεῖν* —*νικήσας ἔφη ποίει ἃ παθεῖν ἔμελλες ἡττηθείς, εὐθὺς τοῦτον ἀπέσφαξε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν*, which exactly agrees with the story of his answer given by Plutarch (Lys. 13).

§ 1. **Καλχηδόνα.** This city was, by the treaty with Pharnabazus in 409 B.C., left in the hands of the Lacedaemonians, and must therefore at some time since have been taken by the Athenians.

οἱ δὲ προδόντες: cf. i. 3. 18.

τότε: before the surrender of Athens.

ὑστερον: after the restoration of the democracy in 403 B.C.

§ 2. **εἰδὼς ὅτι . . . ἔσεσθαι.** The construction is altered owing to the intermediate clause *ὅσφ . . . Πειραιᾷ*: cf. iii. 4. 27.

ὅσφ πλείους: the correlative *τοσοῦτφ* is wanting before *θᾶπτον*: cf. iv. 2. 11.

Βυζαντίου, κ.τ.λ. As masters of the Bosphorus, the Lacedaemonians could now prevent the passage of all corn ships on their way to Athens; cf. i. 1. 35; ii. 1. 17.

ἀρμοστήν. It appears from Diodorus (xiv. 13) and Plutarch (Lys. 13) that Lysander now established, in connection with the oligarchical clubs that he had previously organized in Asia Minor and the Aegean, a system of decarchies or councils of ten men in every subject state, to replace the democracies, and to support the Spartan harmost or governor, and his garrison; cf. note on i. 5. 8.

§ 3. **ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ:** in partitive apposition to the nominative, as if *ῥῳμῶν* had preceded: the genitive absolute would have been more regular.

Μηλίου: cf. Thuc. v. 116.

Ἰσπαιέας: cf. Thuc. i. 114.

Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορωναίους: cf. Thuc. v. 3, 32.

Αἰγινήτας: cf. Thuc. i. 108, ii. 27.

§ 5. **εἰς Λέσβον.** The Athenians had held this island, with the exception of Methymna, since they had recovered it after its revolt in 412 B.C. (Thuc. viii. 23).

κατεσκευάσατο. For the system introduced cf. note on § 2. The same is meant *infra* by *πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν*.

§ 6. **τῶν γνωρίμων,** i. e. the oligarchs, who often too called themselves *καλοὶ κάγαθοί.* For the conduct of the Samian democrats cf. Thuc. viii. 21.

BOOK II.

I.

II.

BOOK II. § 7. πλὴν Ἀργείων, who had concluded an alliance with Athens in 420 B.C. (Thuc. v. 47), to which they seem now to have been faithful.

II.

§ 8. τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ: evidently a gloss.

§ 9. πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας: most of them had settled at Thyrea, on the south border of the Argolis; cf. Thuc. ii. 27.

τῆς αὐτῶν, sc. πατρίδος.

τὰ πλοῖα: the corn ships.

§ 10. ἐνόμιζον δέ, κ.τ.λ. This is one of the chief passages on which the theory of Xenophon's philo-Laconism in Hellenics I, II has been based. But when compared with the impartiality of the rest of the books, it may very well be that Xenophon is merely chronicling what were actually the feelings of the Athenians at the time.

ἐκείνοις: the Lacedaemonians.

§ 11. τοὺς ἀτίμους. The proposal was made by Patroclides (Andoc. i. 73). It did not apply to the exiles (cf. infr. § 20), but only to those who had been in any measure disfranchised for the part they had played in the oligarchical revolution of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C.; cf. Introd. p. 35.

παρ' Ἄγιν. Lysander had already crossed with part of his fleet to Asia in order to lay siege to Samos; cf. infr. § 16.

§ 12. οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος: for the almost supreme power of Agis, when he was at Decelea, cf. Thuc. viii. 4, 71.

§ 13. Σελλασία: the frontier town of Lacedaemon.

αὐτόθεν: temporal, 'at once,' 'on the spot.'

§ 15. τῆς καθαιρέσεως. This shows that the Athenian envoys were not simply dismissed by the Spartans, but had definite terms proposed to them, on which a peace could be concluded.

τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν . . . ἑκατέρου. There were two long walls joining Athens and Piraeus, and one joining Athens and Phalerum; ἑκατέρου must therefore mean each of the two outer walls.

ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα. This was the work of the demagogue Cleophon; cf. Lysias xiii. 11.

§ 16. Τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων. τοιούτων is the predicate, the participle having no subject, as supr. i. 2. 26.

παρὰ Λύσανδρον: now engaged in the siege of Samos; cf. supr. § 11.

εἰδὼς . . . Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον . . . ἀντέχουσι. The Greek idiom often puts the subject of the dependent sentence as the direct object of the principal verb.

πίστεως ἕνεκα, i. e. as a pledge that the conditions would be observed.

τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλέον: from December 405 to the end of March 404 B.C.

ἐπιτηρῶν ὁπότε = τὸν καιρὸν φυλάττων, ἐν ᾧ.

διὰ τὸ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σῖτον: it seems to be impossible to reconcile this with the statement in § 11 that the corn supply had already failed three months ago, before Theramenes' mission to Lysander.

ἅπαντα ὅ,τι: for the irregularity cf. *Cyrop.* i. 6. 11 ὅ τι . . . ταῦτα.

§ 17. εἴτα without δέ strengthens the opposition between the sentences.

οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος: cf. the answer of Agis *supr.* § 12.

ἦρέθη . . . εἰς Λακεδαίμονα: εἰς expresses motion; 'to go to Lacedaemon.' δέκατος αὐτός: 'with nine others.'

§ 18. Ἀριστοτέλης: cf. ii. 3. 2, 13. Afterwards he was one of the Thirty, and was sent by them to Sparta to obtain a Lacedaemonian garrison for Athens.

§ 19. ἐξαιρεῖν, sc. τὰς Ἀθήνας, to be supplied from Ἀθηναίοις.

§ 20. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ: cf. Justin v. 7 'Negarunt Spartani se ex duobus Graeciae oculis alterum eruturos.' *Infr.* ii. 3. 41, however, Theramenes attributes to them mere motives of political expediency.

καθέντας = κατελθεῖν ἐφέντας, 'having allowed to return.' Plutarch and Diodorus add as one of the conditions, that the Athenians were for the future to confine themselves to their own territory [τῶν γε πόλεων πασῶν ἐκχωρῆσαι]. Plutarch (*Lys.* 14) professes to give the actual words of the treaty: καβαλόντες τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη καὶ ἐκβάντες ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων τὰν αὐτῶν γᾶν ἔχοντες ταῦτά κα δρῶντες τὰν εἰράναν ἔχοιτε, αἱ χρήδοιτε, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἀνέντες. Περὶ τῶν ναῶν τῷ πλήθει οὐκοῖόν τί κα τηρεῖ δοκέη, ταῦτα ποιεέτε.

§ 23. Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει, i. e. from Samos, which he was still besieging: he entered the city, according to Plutarch (*Lys.* 15), on the 16th of Munychion, i. e. the beginning of April, 404 B.C.

κατέσκαπτον: 'began to demolish.' The work was not completed till the autumn of this year; cf. ii. 3. 11.

νομίζοντες: on the question of Xenophon's impartiality, cf. *Introd.* pp. 14, 15, and note on *supr.* § 10.

§ 24. ἐλόντων Ἀκράγαντα. Xenophon has already, in i. 5. 21, narrated this same defeat of the Carthaginians and capture of Agragas as events of the year 407, 406. But it appears from Diodorus (xiii. 87, 92) that the capture did not occur till eight months after the defeat, i. e. December 406, and that Dionysius made himself tyrant of Syracuse about June 405. In this passage (ἐν ᾧ μεσοῦντι, i. e. autumn) it is put a few months later.

§ 1. Εὐδίκου. Some MSS. read Εὐδίον, which Dindorf corrects to Ἐνδίον, because an ephor of that name for the year 413 B.C. is mentioned in *Thuc.* viii. 6. But Εὐδίκου is the reading of the best MS. both here and *infra* § 10.

BOOK II.

ἀναρχίαν, i. e. this year was not named, like the other years, after the ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος.

III.

§ 2. ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ. This decree was passed, on the proposal of Dracontides, in the autumn 404, five months after the conclusion of the peace, ii. 2. 23. Xenophon passes over all the intervening events, viz. the nomination of five ephors through the agency of the oligarchical clubs, the embitterment of internal dissensions, the arrest of the democratical leaders, and the invitation sent by the oligarchs to Lysander, who was still besieging Samos, to interfere in the domestic politics of Athens (§ 9, in September). When he arrived in Athens, his oligarchical partisans easily procured the passing of the decree mentioned in the text through the assembly with all the usual legal forms, backed as they were by the threats of Lysander, on the ground that the Athenians had not completed the demolition of the walls within the time prescribed in the treaty. Of the Thirty ten were nominated by Theramenes, ten by the five ephors, and ten by the assembly itself.

οἷδε. Most had been members of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C.

§ 3. πρὸς Σάμον, i. e. back to Samos.

ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας, which Agis had first occupied in the summer of 413 B.C.

§ 4. περὶ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν: September 3.

§ 5. ἀπώλεσε. It appears from Diodorus (xiii. 109-113) that Dionysius was never really master of these two towns, but was defeated by the Carthaginians in marching to the relief of Gela, and then led the inhabitants of Gela and Camarina back with him to Syracuse, and that all this happened in the year 405 B.C.

ὑπὸ Διονυσίου . . . ἀπεστάλησαν. Diodorus relates that the Syracusan knights or aristocrats rebelled against Dionysius, and fled to Catana. Unger therefore conjectures ἀπὸ Διονυσίου . . . ἀπέστησαν.

§ 7. τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις. Thucydides (viii. 21) relates that the Samian δῆμος had in the year 412 B.C. expelled 400 of the aristocrats.

δέκα ἄρχοντας . . . φρουρεῖν, i. e. Lysander organized the government of Samos in the same way as he had previously done in the other subject states; cf. note on ii. 2. 2. Φρουρεῖν is exegetical, ὥστε φρουρεῖν, unless indeed it be a gloss.

ἀφῆκε, because with the surrender of Samos the reduction of the Athenian empire was complete; cf. ii. 2. 6.

§ 8. εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. Diodorus (xiii. 106) and Plutarch (Lys. 16) give a much more detailed account of the triumphal entry of Lysander, with considerable exaggeration of the treasures that he brought back with him.

ἂ περιεγόντο. Contrast the conduct of Lysander, when Callicratidas succeeded him in 406, i. 6. 10. παρέδειξε: cp. supr. i. 14.

§ 9. *ἐξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτώ*. Thucydides (v. 26) distinctly says that the war from the Theban attack on Plataea down to the capture of Athens lasted almost exactly twenty-seven years, and if to this the six months be added down to Lysander's return to Sparta in Sept. 404, the total number of years is twenty-seven and a half. Morus (Xenophon, Hellenic. p. xxiii) ingeniously shows how the interpolator arrived at the mistaken total. For it appears from Thuc. v. 36 that the ephors entered on their office about the autumnal equinox. When the war began therefore, Aenesias, who had entered on his office in Sept. 432, had still four months of his ephorate to run. Twenty-seven more names would bring us down to September 404. Then the interpolator adds a twenty-ninth, because Eudicus must have entered on his office just before Lysander returned.

§ 11. *Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα*. Xenophon takes up the narrative where he left it in § 2.

καθηρέθη: the aorist expresses the completion of the process, the beginning of which several months before was expressed by the imperfect *κατέσκαπτον*, *supr.* 2. 23.

ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράφαι: for a similar use of *ἐφ' ᾧτε* with an infinitive *cf.* iii. 5. 24.

κατέστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. Diodorus (xiv. 4) adds *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φίλων ὥστε τούτους καλεῖσθαι μὲν ἄρχοντας, εἶναι δ' ὑπηρέτας τῶν τριάκοντα*. Moreover, as appears from §§ 12, 23, 28, they had transferred all judicial powers to the *βουλή*.

§ 12. *πρῶτον μὲν*. Xenophon, as already mentioned, passes over entirely the arrest of the democratical leaders in the months before the nomination of the Thirty; *cf.* note on § 2.

ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, i. e. in the time when the government was still a democracy.

ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας, i. e. by bringing quibbling accusations against the rich in the popular law courts.

συνήδρισαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι: for a similar construction *cf.* ii. 4. 17.

οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. Even Lysias (xii. 5) admits that at first the conduct of the Thirty had at least a show of justice about it.

§ 13. *Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην*: two members of the Thirty; *cf.* *supr.* § 2.

σφίσι συμπράξαι, *κ.τ.λ.*, lit. 'that Lysander would join them in effecting that guards should come'; *cf.* § 14 *συνέπραξεν*.

§ 14. *τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν*. Partitive genitive with *οὓς*.

ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθυμένους, *κ.τ.λ.*: 'would be least likely to allow themselves to be set aside,' i. e. from a share in the government.

ἄν: notice the unusual omission of *ἄν* with *ἀνέχεσθαι*, the first of the two opposed sentences.

BOOK II. § 15. ἐπεὶ δέ: the apodosis is wanting. It is virtually taken up at § 18 with the words ἐκ τούτου.

III.

ἄτε καὶ φυγών. The date and cause of his banishment are unknown. He was in Athens at the time of the conspiracy of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C., had proposed the recall of Alcibiades c. 408 B.C. (cf. Plut. Alc. 33), and was an exile in Thessaly during the trial of the ten generals in 406 B.C. (cf. infr. § 36). So that some have supposed that he was banished in 407, as being mixed up with the affairs of Alcibiades. He came back with the other exiles after the capture of Athens, and was nominated one of the five ephors; cf. Lysias xii. 78.

§ 16. οὐκ ἐγχωροίη, κ.τ.λ.: 'that it was impossible for those who aimed at extraordinary power not to put out of the way those who were most capable of hindering them.'

ὥσπερ τυραννίδος, as it stands, is out of place. Jacobs therefore brackets it. Hermann proposes to read ἡ ὥσπερ τυραννίδος, which gives the sense that the passage requires.

§ 18. οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, although Theramenes was one of them. οἱ τριάκοντα is similarly used as a proper name in ii. 4. 21, 23, 38, after several of the number had been killed.

οὐχ ἦκιστα, i. e. μάλιστα.

τοὺς μεθέξοντας = οἱ μεθέξουσι. Similarly the Four Hundred, in 411 B.C., had pretended to enroll 5000 citizens from those capable of supplying themselves with heavy armour at their own expense; cf. infr. § 48. It appears from § 51 that no member of the 3000 could be condemned without the warrant of the Senate, while any other Athenian could be put to death simply at the orders of the Thirty.

§ 19. βουλομένους, κ.τ.λ. κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι must be joined with τρισχιλίους, as appears from the order of the words. The meaning is, 'though wishing to take the best of the citizens into partnership, they had taken only three thousand.'

τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντα is in the accusative absolute.

οἷόν τε εἶη, as if ὥσπερ εἰ ὁ ἀριθμὸς οὗτος ἔχοι had preceded.

ἡμᾶς, i. e. the Thirty.

§ 20. κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα: τοὺς τρισχιλίους is to be supplied as the object of κελεύσαντες, as is apparent from the following ἐκείνοι = οἱ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου. Most commentators interpret the phrase ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα as equivalent to ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, arma capere, 'having bidden the three thousand to take up their arms': but Mr. E. Abbott would translate, 'having set them on the arms,' i. e. having bidden them to seize the arms of the other citizens, while the latter were away from home, —an interpretation which gives the meaning that the context requires. Cobet (Mnemosyne vi. 47) points out that the passage must indicate some stratagem by which all ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου were induced to leave

their arms behind them, but denies that any such meaning can be extracted from the words as they stand: he conjectures, therefore, that several words have fallen out of the text.

τοὺς φρουροὺς: the Spartan garrison.

§ 21. ἕκαστον, i. e. τῶν τριάκοντα, 'that each of the Thirty should seize one of the Metoeci.'

§ 22. λαμβάνοιεν: the optative expresses frequency.

§ 23. τῷ παντί, adverbial, 'in every point,' 'altogether.'

πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτάς: to whom the judicial power had been transferred; cf. note on § 11.

παραγενέσθαι: just outside the senate house; cf. § 50.

συνέλεξαν. The Thirty summoned the Senate, and directed the course of procedure; cf. Lysias xiii. 37 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων, οὗ νῦν οἱ πρυτανεῖς καθέζονται.

§ 24. πλείονας τοῦ καιροῦ: 'more than is expedient.'

μεθιστάσι: from the preceding words τὴν πολιτείαν can be easily supplied.

§ 25. τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν, i. e. τοιούτοις οἷοι ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσμεν.

§ 26. λυμáινεται with the dative has the same meaning as with the accusative, 'to injure,' 'do mischief to.'

§ 27. οἷς δύναται, 'by what means he can.'

ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ. After this one would expect μαρτύριον to follow, which however is really implied in ἦν κατανοήτε, εὐρήσετε.

πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, without ἄν, to express the certainty of the supposed case.

§ 28. αὐτῷ . . . ἀρέσκει, an anacoluthon, just as if, not ἄρξας and ἐξορμήσας, but ἐπεὶ . . . ἤρξε . . . ἐξώρμησε had preceded.

αὐ: cf. infr. § 30 πρῶτος αὐ ἡγεμών.

§ 29. ὅσῳ πολεμίοις. Here there is no correlative comparative with ὅσῳ, although one is implied in the meaning: 'men are more ready to trust enemies than traitors.' Here ὅσῳ may be translated 'inasmuch as'; cf. Cyrop. vi. 2. 19.

§ 30. κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἀγνώνα, 'just as his father Hagnon had been.' Hagnon was one of the πρόβουλοι appointed immediately after the Sicilian disaster (Thuc. viii. 1), who according to Lysias (xii. 65) prepared the way for the conspiracy of the Four Hundred.

προπετέστατος. For the facts alluded to cf. Thuc. viii. 68, 92.

§ 31. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος, κ.τ.λ. Morus and other commentators put this sentence in brackets as a gloss, such an explanation being quite superfluous before such an audience. Moreover ἀποβλέπει ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων cannot possibly be translated in the sense required, viz. 'fits neither foot.'

BOOK II.

III.

δεῖ . . . οὐ . . . δεινὸν εἶναι must be translated together.

εἰς πράγματα, i. e. 'to dangerous undertakings.'

εἰ δὲ μή, 'otherwise,' more fully explained by εἰ . . . πλέοιεν.

§ 32. δῆπου: cf. § 24.

πλείστοις . . . ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας = πλείστοις τῶν βελτιόνων and πλείστοις ἐκ δημοκρατίας = πλείστοις τοῦ δήμου.

ἵνα αὐτὸς περιωσθῇ: cf. *Introd.* p. 40, on the 'Trial of the Generals.'

§ 33. πῶς δὲ οὐ, sc. *χρή*.

ὡς . . . ποιούμεν . . . ἐννοήσατε: cf. note on § 27.

§ 34. τῶν ἔξω. The democrats in exile.

§ 35. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον. For how this assertion of Theramenes is to be reconciled with Xenophon's narrative in i. 7. 4 cf. *Introd.* p. 42, on the Trial.

προσταθέν μοι ὑφ' αὐτῶν, accus. absolute, 'that although orders had been given me by themselves, I had not rescued,' etc.

μὴ ὅτι, elliptic phrase μὴ (λέγε) ὅτι, 'much less to.'

φάσκοντες γάρ, κ.τ.λ. This is a direct contradiction to the generals' own statement in i. 7. 6. Probably Theramenes means, that if the generals said that a rescue was possible, and yet in their despatch made no mention of any orders given to himself and other subordinate officers, they would themselves appear responsible for the death of the shipwrecked sailors. But the generals never said anything of the kind.

§ 36. *παρανενομηκέναι. A word is required meaning that Critias had misunderstood the matter. Wolf therefore conjectures παρανενομηκέναι, Cobet παρανενομηκέναι.

ἐν Θετταλίᾳ. In the *Mem.* i. 2. 24 Xenophon adds Κριτίας . . . φυγῶν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐκεῖ συνῆν ἀνθρώποις ἀνομία μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιοσύνη χρωμένοις: cf. note *supr.* ii. 2. 15. Theramenes ridicules Critias for taking exactly the opposite side in Athens to what he had taken in Thessaly: for the Penestae, like the Helots in Lacedaemon, were 'adscripti glebae.'

§ 38. μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ., 'up to your being put into the senate and to magistrates being appointed, and to the notorious sycophants being tried, so far we were all of the same opinion.'

τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας: cf. § 12 οὓς πάντες ἤδεσαν ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας. For the adverb ὁμολογουμένως cf. *Demosth.* xxix. 14 τὸν ὁμολογουμένως δοῦλον.

§ 39. Λέοντος: for the previous history and democratical proclivities of Leon, cf. *Thuc.* viii. 23, 55, 73, *supr.* i. 5. 16, vi. 16. Plato (*Apol.* 32) gives a fuller account of this incident, in which Socrates was involved, and showed his courage.

Νικίου. The Athenian general at Sicily. Nothing more is known of the son here mentioned.

§ 40. Ἀντιφῶντος. Not to be confused with Antiphon the rhetorician, who was executed for the part he played in the conspiracy of the Four Hundred. Nothing more is known of this Antiphon, unless he is to be identified with the Antiphon mentioned in Memorab. i. 6. 1.

ἓνα ἕκαστον : cf. note on § 21.

§ 41. ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα, κ.τ.λ., § 20.

τούτου ἕνεκα βουλομένους : cf. Diod. xv. 63, Polyænus i. 45. 5, whence it appears that the Spartan reasons for sparing Athens were based as much on policy as on generosity ; cf. supr. ii. 2. 20.

δέονται. If the reading be right, the present tense must show that Theramenes alludes to the feeling that the Lacedæmonians entertained towards the Athenians at the moment he was speaking. Cobet (Mnem. vi. 46) corrects it to γ' ἐδέοντο.

§ 42. τὸ φρουροῦς μισθοῦσθαι, § 13.

ὥς ῥαδίως ἐμέλλομεν, κ.τ.λ., 'until we, the rulers, should easily have made ourselves masters of the ruled.'

Θρασύβουλον . . . Ἄνυτον . . . Ἀλκιβιάδην. In §§ 13, 14, 21 Xenophon alludes only in general terms to the banishment and execution of the leading democrats. More extraordinary still, he never even mentions the assassination of Alcibiades at this time by Pharnabazus, at the wish of Lysander, who had been instigated by Critias to accomplish it ; cf. Plut. Alc. 38. For Thrasybulus cf. infr. ii. 4. 2 sqq. Anytus was one of the leading democrats, and after his return from exile was the foremost accuser of Socrates.

§ 44. ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω, sc. δεῖν γίνεσθαι.

αὐτοῦς, Thrasybulus and the exiles.

ἡγεῖσθαι, sc. αὐτοῦς, accus. and infin. depending on οἶμαι.

ποι τῆς χώρας, partitive genitive.

§ 45. Ἄ δ' αὖ εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ. : 'again as for his saying that I am of a character always to change,' etc.

ἐψηφίσατο : cf. Thuc. viii. 69.

§ 46. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν, κ.τ.λ. : 'the Lacedæmonians were as vigorous as ever'; cf. Thuc. viii. 70.

ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα, i. e. the fort Eetionea ; cf. Thuc. viii. 90.

ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενος. So Thucydides (viii. 92) attributes the discovery and exposure of the plan to Theramenes.

§ 47. κόθορνον, cf. § 30.

§ 48. δραχμῆς . . . μετέχοιεν, i. e. should be made senators, a drachma being the daily pay for sitting in the Senate. Cobet thinks the expression too artificial, and conjectures αὐτῆς, i. e. τῆς πόλεως.

τὸ μέντοι . . . ὠφελεῖν, κ.τ.λ. If the reading be correct, the sentence as it stands is an anacoluthon. Xenophon begins with τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις (sc. ὠφελεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν) καὶ μεθ' ἱππῶν καὶ μετ'

BOOK II.

III.

ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν, as if he were going on to say τὴν πολιτείαν ἀρίστην παρέχειν ἡγοῦμην. Instead of doing so however he breaks off with διὰ τούτων (i.e. διὰ τῶν δυναμένων ὠφελεῖν καὶ μεθ' ἵππων, κ.τ.λ.) in the same sense as Demosthenes uses the phrase τὰς διὰ τῶν ὀλίγων πολιτείας and entirely alters the construction. Translate: 'but to support the constitution with the help (σύν) of those who are able to do so both with horses and with shields. . . . I say, I used formerly to think that a constitution formed by (διά) such men is the best,' etc.; cf. note on § 18. For the part that Theramenes played in the Four Hundred cf. Thuc. viii. 68.

§ 50. οὐ βιωτόν, 'unendurable.'

τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας: cf. § 22.

ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις, 'at the bar,' a railing made of lattice work, with which the dicasts were surrounded.

§ 51. προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἷον δεῖ, 'that it is the duty of such a president as a man ought to be.' οἷον is attracted into the case of προστάτου. Two constructions are here confounded: (1) νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἷον δεῖ . . . ὁρῶντα . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, and (2) νομίζω προστάτην εἶναι οἷον δεῖ, ὅς ἂν ὁρῶν . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπη.

ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις: cf. § 11 αἰρεθέντες ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράψαι νόμους: and in the Mem. i. 2. 31 Xenophon speaks more specifically of ὁ Κριτίας . . . τῶν τριάκοντα ὧν νομοθέτης μετὰ Χαρικλέους.

τῶν ἔξω, genitive dependent on κυρίους: θανατοῦν is added epexegetically.

συνδοκοῦν, used absolutely; cf. § 35 προσταχθέν.

§ 52. ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν, where stood the altar at which the senators took their oath.

§ 53. καὶ ταῦτα γινώσκοντες, i.e. 'especially when you perceive.'

§ 54. τοὺς ἑνδεκα: cf. note on i. 7. 10. The Thirty seem to have retained this old democratical magistracy, filling it however with the most violent of their partisans.

ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες, a nominativus pendens without an accompanying finite verb.

τὰ ἐκ τούτων = τὰ λοιπά, lit. 'what comes next.'

§ 56. ἀποκοτταβίσαντα, i.e. 'having jerked out the last drop.' The κότταβος was a convivial practice, consisting in jerking out the last drop from a cup, which was supposed to furnish an omen by its sound in falling. Then the guest, who had just drunk, handed on the cup to the guest whose turn came next.

ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω. Here for the only time in the first two books the noble death of Theramenes draws from Xenophon a remark in the first person. His portrait of him agrees well with that in Thucydides (viii. 68, 89, 92); cf. Arist. Frogs 968. Theramenes in the Trial of the Generals does not scruple to sacrifice the lives of others to secure his own. In bring-

ing about the second oligarchical revolution he is as skilful and successful in his intrigues as he was in the first. So soon as he perceives that the policy of the Thirty is leading them to certain destruction, he opposes them with the same skill as he had used in setting them up: and when at last his opposition brings him into personal danger, the nobler side of his character shines out, till he drinks the cup of hemlock with the courage and cheerfulness of Socrates. But after all that can be said in his favour, it is hard to understand Aristotle's judgment on Theramenes, quoted by Plutarch (Nicias 2), where he mentions him in the same category with the statesmen Nicias and Thucydides, as *βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πατρικὴν ἔχοντες εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον*, though at the same time admitting the justice of his nickname of *κόθορνος*. Beloch indeed (*Die Politik Athens seit Perikles*), relying on Theramenes' own words in § 48, tries to show that he consistently aimed to establish a moderate democracy at Athens, based on the middle classes, who had some stake in the state, both when he joined the conspiracy of the Four Hundred in 411, and when he became one of the Thirty in 404 B.C., and that he turned against his colleagues on both occasions, not from a mere wish to save his own life, but because he really disapproved of the extreme form of oligarchy, which they had introduced, based as it was upon robbery and murder. From the epithet *ὁ κομψός*, which is given to him by Aristophanes, we may conclude that he was in the habit of drawing delicate distinctions; and very delicate distinctions indeed are required to free him from the charge of treachery in his conduct at the trial of the generals and the capitulation of Athens.

§ 1. *προεῖπον μὲν . . . ἦγον δέ*. It appears that here Xenophon is summarizing in a few words numerous acts of violence on the part of the Thirty. He omits altogether the edict of the Lacedaemonians forbidding any state to harbour the Athenian refugees; cf. Plut. Lys. 27, Isocr. 7. 67, Diod. xiv. 6, 32. *ἦγον*, 'evicted.'

ἄγοντες, sc. *οἱ τριάκοντα*.

§ 2. *Θρασύβουλος*: cf. ii. 3. 42.

Φυλήν, between Mounts Cithaeron and Parnes, on the road from Athens to Thebes.

§ 4. *φυλάς*: the Athenian army was organised on the basis of Cleisthenes' ten tribes. Cp. Hdt. vi. 111, and note *infr.* § 23.

§ 5. *συνειλεγμένων . . . περὶ ἑπτακοσίων*: cf. iv. 6. 12 *καὶ ἀπέθανον . . . περὶ τριακοσίων*.

ἦδη shows that some considerable interval had elapsed since § 3.

§ 6. *ἀνίσταντο, κ.τ.λ.*, 'had already risen and were going.' The notion of motion implied being shown by *ὅποι*. The nom. is *οἱ πολέμιοι* understood.

ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, 'from the camp.'

BOOK II.

§ 8. οὐκέτι νομίζοντες, κ.τ.λ. Lysias (xxv. 22) represents dissensions as having already broken out among the Three Thousand themselves.

IV.

καταφυγὴν, Eleusis being a fortified town.

παραγγέλαντες, sc. ἐλθεῖν.

ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσιν has probably crept into the text from τοῖς ἱππεύσιν immediately above. For if the Athenian knights are meant in the sense of 'under the protection of the knights,' we should rather expect σὺν τοῖς ἱππεύσιν: and it can hardly mean the Eleusinian knights, because it appears, from what immediately follows, that the review was of the whole forces, horse and foot alike. Moreover ἐξέτασιν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσιν can scarcely be equivalent to ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἱππέων. Classen conjectures ἐν τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις.

ἀναγαγόντα, i.e. from the coast to Athens.

τοῖς ἑνδεκα: cf. ii. 3. 54.

§ 9. τὸ Ὀιδεῖον, built by Pericles for musical contests.

Ἐλευσινίων. Both Lysias (xii. 52) and Diodorus (xiv. 32) say that the Salaminians were involved in the same fate as the Eleusinians, but they put the total number of victims altogether at 300 only.

φανερὰν . . . τὴν ψῆφον: cf. the decree of the Senate as to the trial of the generals, i. 7. 9.

§ 10. τῶν πολιτῶν, the Three Thousand.

ἀναφέρουσιν. The participle is here transposed as πεμφθέντα i. 1. 23.

§ 11. ἔτι μὲν, 'for a while,' here opposed to a second action, which has not yet begun—ἔπει δέ.

μὴ ἀνίεναί, i.e. 'to prevent their march back again to Piræus.'

ὁ κύκλος, 'the wall surrounding Piræus.' Thucydides (ii. 13) calls it sixty stadia, or nearly seven miles round.

Ἱπποδάμειον. Hippodamus, the Milesian architect, had laid out the town of Piræus.

Βενδίδειον, the temple of Bendis, the Thracian Moon-goddess.

ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα. This unusual depth was on account of their great number. The ordinary depth of the phalanx was eight.

§ 12. ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, 'behind them.'

αὐτόθεν, 'from the place itself,' i.e. from Munychia and the Piræus.

τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὄπλα, i.e. spear and sword.

§ 13. οὓς . . . ἐδιώξατε: cf. § 4.

ἡμέραν πέμπτην, 'four days ago'; cf. Anab. iv. 5. 24 ἐνάτην ἡμέραν.

τοὺς φιλτάτους . . . ἀπησημαίνοντο. ἀποσημαίνεισθαι is properly applied to the confiscation of goods and chattels only. Here, in his indignation, the speaker applies it to citizens.

παραγενήναι. The subject is 'the exiled citizens': with οἱ . . . ᾤοντο supply παραγενέσθαι ἄν.

§ 14. συνελαμβανόμεθα, 'we were arrested.'

οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλ' οὐδέ, 'non modo . . . sed ne quidem.'

ἐν εὐδία χειμῶνα: cf. §§ 2, 3, 7.

§ 16. τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις. The dative may be either after δεήσκειν or after μάχεσθαι.

ἀμαρτήσεται . . . ὧν . . . μεστή, i. e. τούτων ὧν.

φυλαττόμενοι δέ, κ.τ.λ., 'but to protect themselves they will always be skulking behind their shields.'

ἐναλλομένους makes better sense if taken of the enemy, 'to drive them back, when they leap upon our ranks.'

§ 17. οὗτω πλούσιος ὧν καλοῦ: here οὗτω belongs to καλοῦ. Its force is strengthened by the interposition of πλούσιος ὧν, 'however rich he may be.'

τὸν Ἐννάλιον, 'the war-god'; cf. Anab. i. 8. 18 τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἐλελίζειν.

§ 18. μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι . . . τρωθείη, i. e. in order that the guilt of being the first to shed a fellow-citizen's blood might be upon the enemy.

§ 19. τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεὶ δέκα ἀρχόντων. Neither Xenophon, Lysias, Diodorus, Nepos, nor Justin mention the appointment of these magistrates, who are here introduced with the article as if already known to the reader. Plutarch (Lys. 15) says εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκίνησε (Λύσανδρος) τριάκοντα μὲν ἐν ἄστει, δέκα δὲ ἐν Πειραιεὶ καταστήσας ἀρχοντας. In any case they must have been subordinate to the Thirty, who were αὐτοκράτορες, and it can only have been after the refugees from Athens had fled to the Piraeus that their office was of any importance.

§ 20. Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, one of the Eumolpidae, the hereditary heralds in the Eleusinian mysteries, Arist. Frogs 1085.

§ 21. ὀλίγου δεῖν, 'almost,' used absolutely.

ἐν ὀκτῷ μηνί, from September 404 to April 403.

δέκα ἔτη, i. e. the last ten years of the Peloponnesian War, known as the Decelean War. Isocrates (xii. 24, 67) says that the Thirty put 1500 citizens to death.

§ 22. τῶν . . . ἀποθανόντων . . . ἔστιν οὓς, 'some of those who have been slain.'

οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες: of the Thirty at Athens twenty-seven, and of the Ten at Piraeus nine, were still left alive.

καὶ διὰ τό, κ.τ.λ., i. e. as well as an account of their defeat.

§ 23. διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους: cf. note on § 8.

τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεὶ: the followers of Thrasybulus, now in occupation of Piraeus.

οὐδὲν δέοιντο, κ.τ.λ., lit. 'they had no need of these evils'; i. e. there was no reason why they should suffer them.

καὶ εἵλοντο δέκα, ἓνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς, i. e. one from each tribe; cf. iv.

BOOK II.

IV.

2. 8 εἰς ἀπὸ πόλεως. Cleisthenes in 509 B.C. had divided the Athenians into ten tribes, Hdt. v. 66. It appears from Lysias (xii. 55) that these Ten were of that section of the oligarchical party of which Theramenes had been the leader, and that they were chosen because it was thought that *δικαίως ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς τε τριάκοντα μσεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ φιλεῖσθαι*.

§ 24. Ἐλευσινάδε: their *καταφύγη*, § 8.

σὺν ταῖς ἱσπίσι: shields were part of the equipment of the hoplites or heavy-armed soldiers. The Athenian knights were now obliged to serve as horsemen by day and as hoplites by night.

§ 25. οἱ δέ, i. e. οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς.

ἡμέρας δέκα, since they had occupied Piræus.

ἰσοτελείαν. Such *μέτοικοι* as paid no *μετοίκιον*, but paid the same taxes as full citizens, were called *ἰσοτελεῖς*. Before *ἰσοτελείαν*, *τούτοις* must be supplied: the infin. *ἔσεσθαι* depends on *πιστὰ δόντες*.

ποιούμενοι . . . λαμβάνοντες. The present participles here denote frequent repetition.

ὁπώραν: cf. § 26 *ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια*. This shows that it was already summer time, although Xenophon has not marked the beginning of another year.

§ 26. *Αἰξωνέων*. This is Palmer's conjecture for *τῶν ἔξω νέων*, which is quite unintelligible. *Αἰξώνη* was a village between Hymettus and the west coast of Attica.

§ 27. *πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος*. Xenophon (Mem. ii. 7. 2) makes Aristarchus describe the necessities to which Athens was reduced by these attacks from Piræus; cf. Isocr. xvi. 13.

εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ, κ.τ.λ. To complete the construction *ἐρῶ* before *ὅς* is required. For the genitive τοῦ μηχανοποιου after *εἰπεῖν* cf. Plat. Rep. 439 B τοῦ τοξότου οὐ καλῶς ἔχει λέγειν.

τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον, the open space between the Lyceum and the city wall.

μέλλοιεν . . . προσάγειν, sc. οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς.

§ 28. *τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ*, i. e. by order of the Ten, who, instead of fulfilling the hopes with which they had been appointed (§ 23), *πολὺ μείζον στάσιν καὶ πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ . . . ἐποίησαν*: cf. Lysias xii. 55.

συνέπραξεν, i. e. with the ambassadors.

ἐκατὸν τάλαντα, with which to collect a mercenary army, as the Spartans refused to send any troops of their own; cf. Lysias xii. 59, 60. Isocrates (vii. 77), citing it as an instance of the *ἐπιείκεια τοῦ δήμου*, says, that shortly after its restoration the democracy repaid this loan to the Lacedæmonians, as a debt incurred by the Athenian state, and not merely by the oligarchs, who had contracted it; cf. Dem. p. 460.

§ 29. Οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων, 'while things were going on in this way;' cf. ii. 2. 16 τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων.

φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ. So Diodorus xiv. 33 and Plutarch, Lysander, 21.

τρεῖς, i. e. a majority out of the Five Ephors.

φρουράν: a Lacedaemonian word for an army. Lysander had only mercenary forces.

§ 30. πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων: cf. iii. 5. 5, where the Lacedaemonians charge the Boeotians with having persuaded the Corinthians to refuse to follow.

εὐορκεῖν: consistently with the Treaty of Peace concluded in 404 B.C., ii. 2. 22.

ἐγίγνωσκον: 'supposed' (wrongly).

ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ: the level ground between Piraeus and Hymettus. The fugitives from the violence of the Thirty and the Ten flocked round Pausanias at Piraeus, where the king so far showed his real feelings as to refuse the presents offered him by the Thirty; cf. Lysias xviii. 8-12.

§ 31. ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν: 'so far as cries went,' i. e. in appearance only. βοή is the battle cry. Thuc. viii. 92 joins the same two prepositions with the same meaning.

δύο μόρας: according to Xenophon (Rep. Laced.) the whole Spartan army was divided into six morae. Contrast Thucydides v. 68.

τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα. κωφόν is 'dumb,' 'quiet,' in the sense of 'smooth.' Curtius supposes it to be the innermost part of the harbour.

§ 32. ἐνέοντας: 'pressing on.' Xenophon uses the word intransitively also in the Cyrop. vii. 1. 29.

τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης, lit. 'the men ten years from military age,' which at Sparta was fixed at eighteen. The use of the neuter τὰ is a Lacedaemonian usage; cf. iii. 4. 23, iv. 5. 15.

τὸ Πειραιοῖ θέατρον. Πειραιοῖ is the old locative case. The theatre was on the hill of Munychia.

§ 33. ἐπὶ πόδα, 'foot by foot,' i. e. slowly.

ἐν Κεραμεικῷ, in the north-west part of Athens.

§ 34. πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ὀκτώ, i. e. formed eight deep in front of the light-armed troops.

εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, 'let them come to close quarters.'

ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς, on the coast, south of Phalerum.

§ 35. λέγοντας . . . πέμπειν: present participle where the future would naturally be expected, as ii. 1. 29, iv. 37.

δίστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, 'he created a division among,' etc.

πρὸς σφᾶς: to himself and the Ephors.

Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι εἶναι, i. e. in accordance with the terms of the former treaty; cf. ii. 2. 20.

BOOK II.

IV.

§ 36. νομίζεται: cf. Xen. Rep. Lac. viii. 5 πάρεισι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων δύο, οἱ πολυπραγμονοῦσιν οὐδέν, ἣν μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλῇ ὀρώντες δὲ ὅτι ποιεῖ ἕκαστος, πάντας σωφρονίζουσιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός: cf. Arist. Pol. ii. 9. 30.

τῆς μετὰ Πausανίου γνώμης, two modes of expression are here confused: (1) τῆς Πausανίου γνώμης ὄντες, and (2) μετὰ Πausανίου ὄντες.

τὰς . . . σπονδὰς: here, 'the terms,' or 'offers of peace.'

ιδιώτας opposed to οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ in § 37.

§ 37. χρῆσθαι ὅ,τι βούλονται: for the expression cf. ii. 1. 2.

§ 38. οἱ ἔφοροι: the three remaining in Sparta.

οἱ ἔκκλητοι: Hermann (Gr. Staatsalterth. § 25) identifies these with the μικρὰ ἐκκλησία, mentioned in iii. 3. 8. But in v. 2. 33, where they are again mentioned, no distinction seems to be drawn between them and the πλήθος, who formed the ordinary assembly. Cp. iv. 6. 3; v. 2. 11; vi. 3. 3.

ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν. This implied, as far as practicable, a restitution of the confiscated property; cf. Harpocr. sub voce σύνδικοι.

αὐτοῖς: to those who διήλλαξαν, i. e. to the Lacedaemonians and Athenians.

§ 39. ἀνελθόντες . . . εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. This procession, which Lysias (xiii. 86) describes at some length, Plutarch (Glor. Athen. 7) puts on the 12th of Boedromion, i. e. 26th Sept. 403 B. C.

κατίβησαν . . . οἱ στρατηγοί. Cobet inserts ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν. Some words of this kind are evidently required to complete the sense; cf. § 42 ad fin.

§ 40. γνοίητε, sc. ὑμᾶς αὐτούς.

§ 41. ἡ ὥς, i. e. ἡ ἥ κρίσις ὥς.

παράλυσθε: the best MSS. give περιέληλυθεν, which is quite unintelligible. Some word is required in the perfect tense, meaning to 'outwit,' as opposed to γνώμη . . . προέχειν. In his earlier editions Dindorf conjectured παρελύθητε, which in his last edition he has changed to παράλυσθε. Translate, 'ye have been outdone.'

πῶς, οὔγε, i. e. πῶς ἐπὶ τούτοις, οἷ γε.

κλοιῷ δῆσαντες, κ.τ.λ. The allusion is to a law of Solon preserved in Plutarch (Solon 24) κύνα δακόντα παραδοῦναι κλοιῷ τριπῆχει δεδεμένον.

κάκεινοι repeats the subject οἷ γε, strengthening the comparison after οὕτω.

§ 42. ὑμᾶς. Thrasybulus now addresses his own followers.

§ 43. ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο. Euclides was created ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος, and in his archonship and the following years a complete revision of the Solonian laws and constitution took place to suit the altered condition of affairs, when Athens had lost her sovereign rights and her empire over the subject allies; cf. Andoc. i. 88 sqq.

ξένους μισθοῦσθαι. Justin (v. 10. 11) gives an account of the affair but little more intelligible than Xenophon's. The Thirty, it would appear, were suspected of once more conspiring to regain their supremacy at Athens.

τοὺς Ἑλευσῖνι. The Thirty, their adherents, and such other Athenians as had since joined them; cf. §. 38. Ἑλευσῖνι is the locative case.

μὴ μνησικακήσειν: cf. Cor. Nepos, Thras. iii. 2 'Legem tulit (Thrasylbulus) ne quis ante actarum rerum accusaretur neve multaretur, eamque illi oblivionis appellarunt.' The oath was taken by the knights, the senate, and the whole people; and Andocides (i. 90) preserves the actual words, καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενὶ πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα, οὐδὲ τούτων ὃς ἂν ἔθελαι εὐθύνας διδόναι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἧς ἦρξεν.

ἔτι καὶ νῦν. It is impossible to fix with any exactitude what time is denoted by these words. Xenophon accompanied Cyrus on his expedition against his brother in 401 B.C., a time which allows too short an interval to give the words any real meaning; and he did not return to Greece till 394 B.C. On the other hand it cannot be very long after the events described, because the praise assigned to the Athenians must mean that consistently with the amnesty they did not prosecute certain definite persons, who had been implicated in the enormities of the Thirty, and such prosecutions were only likely to have taken place in the succeeding ten or fifteen years. We may therefore perhaps infer that Xenophon wrote these words not very long after his return to Greece.

NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF CYZICUS.

(1. 1. 16.)

ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγύς, κ.τ.λ. Diodorus (xiii. 49-51) gives a much fuller account of the battle, and conceives it quite differently. Plutarch (Alc. 28) seems to follow Xenophon in the main, but to add details from the same source as Diodorus.

According to Diodorus, the several divisions of the Athenian fleet united at Cardia, and then sailed up the Hellespont to Proconnesus, taking care to pass Abydos by night, that the increase in their numbers might not be noticed by the enemy. Mindarus, with the help of Pharnabazus, had just taken Cyzicus by storm. Next day the Athenians disembarked their soldiers, under Chares, upon the Cyzicene territory, and with their fleet in three divisions, under Alcibiades, Thrasylbulus, and Theramenes, sailed against the enemy at Cyzicus. Alcibiades went ahead in order to προκαλέσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, the other two generals

aiming to surround them and cut them off from the city. Mindarus saw only Alcibiades' ships, and, despising their numbers, sailed out to meet them; whereupon Alcibiades by pretending flight drew him *πορρωτέρω τῆς πόλεως*, till suddenly he faced about, and Theramenes and Thrasybulus, seeing his signal, sailed towards the city and cut off the Peloponnesians. Mindarus, now seeing the whole Athenian fleet (nothing is said about any mist), fled to shore at Cleri, where Pharnabazus was encamped. Alcibiades hotly pursued him, sunk some of his ships, took others, and tried to drag others off the beach. The Peloponnesian land forces and the troops of Pharnabazus now came to the assistance of Mindarus, whereupon Thrasybulus disembarked his marines and sent word to Theramenes to bring up the soldiers under Chares. Meanwhile Mindarus, supported by the mercenaries of Pharnabazus and also by Clearchus, firmly stood his ground. When however Theramenes arrived with the reinforcements and joined Thrasybulus, first the mercenaries broke the line and fled, and then Clearchus was obliged to retire. Theramenes and his troops now went off to the help of Alcibiades. Mindarus was thus obliged to divide his forces: one division he sent to oppose Theramenes, while he himself at the head of the other made a brave resistance against Alcibiades, until after many heroic exploits he was himself slain. His death was the signal for a general flight among the Peloponnesians; but the Athenians were unable to pursue them far, because their retreat was covered by Pharnabazus, who now arrived on the scene.

According to Plutarch, Alcibiades, on arriving in the Athenian camp, hearing that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were in Cyzicus, determined to fight, and exhorted his troops accordingly. Then he sailed with the whole fleet to Proconnesus, where he ordered *ἐντὸς περιβάλλειν τὰ λεπτὰ πλοῖα*, that no news of his intended attack might reach the enemy, his precaution being much aided by a great thunderstorm and thick mist. Then the whole fleet set sail, and when the mist gradually lifted, Alcibiades saw the Peloponnesian fleet *πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Κυζικηνῶν*. Thereupon he ordered the other generals to keep behind out of sight, while he himself, sailing on in front with forty ships, *προκαλείτο τοὺς πολεμίους*. The Peloponnesians, despising his small numbers, sailed to meet him, and at once joined battle; but when the rest of the Athenian fleet came up, they turned and fled. At this juncture Alcibiades, *διεκπλεύσας* with twenty of his fastest vessels, made for the shore, disembarked, and slew many of the enemy, as they fled from their ships. Mindarus (who is not mentioned as being on board the Peloponnesian fleet at all) and Pharnabazus now came up to the rescue, but in vain: for Alcibiades quickly slew Mindarus and put Pharnabazus to flight.

NOTE ON THE ELECTION OF ALCIBIADES.

(1. 4. 10.)

This is an important passage for determining the date of the election of the generals at Athens. Since Alcibiades did not arrive in Athens until the 25th of Thargelion, the eleventh month of the Attic year, i. e. about June 12, he must have been elected some time before. Gilbert, relying on an inscription of the 2nd or at the earliest 3rd century B.C. (CIA. II. 416) and on two very obscure passages in the Attic Orators (Isaeus, de Her. Apollod. § 15 and Demosthenes, c. Leoch. 44. 35), tries on very insufficient grounds to fix the date once for all as the 22nd of Munychion, i. e. the tenth month. But the inscription is very mutilated, and of doubtful interpretation, and no safe inference can be drawn from it to the practice of the fifth century B.C. All that can be safely laid down, is that a sufficient interval must have elapsed between the elections and the entrance of the elected candidates upon their office to allow of their undergoing the usual *δοκιμασία*, of the settlement of any legal questions, which might arise out of it, and of fresh elections in the place of any whose elections had been declared null and void: but whether this interval was nine or ten weeks, as Gilbert supposes, or a shorter time, there is no real evidence to show. It has been usual to assume that the generals entered upon their office on the first day of Hecatombaeon, the beginning of the Attic civil year (c. 21 June). And though no definite statement as to the practice appears in any extant Greek author, this assumption best suits the appearance and disappearance of the generals (e. g. Pericles, Demosthenes, Nicias, etc.) mentioned in the pages of Thucydides. Müller-Strübing (Aristophanes, etc., p. 484 sqq.), arguing from the inconvenience of generals entering upon their office at a time when the summer campaign would be nearly half over, misquotes his authorities, and fails altogether to make his point. The question however rather concerns a commentary on Thucydides, and for a detailed examination of it the reader should consult Droysen's article in *Hermes*. ix. p. 16 ff. and Hauvette-Besnault, *Les Stratèges Athéniens* (1885).

NOTE ON THE TERM *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*.

(1. 7. 2.)

ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε προεστηκώς, κ.τ.λ.

It is extremely doubtful whether the designation *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* was ever used as an official title in any state, and it was certainly not so used at Athens. The term *προστάτης* in its legal signification means a patron chosen from among the citizens by an alien (*μέτοικος*) to

represent him before the law courts or elsewhere, where he had no legal right to appear himself. But though this legal signification is sometimes implied in the phrase *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*, it seems to be more often used in its simple etymological sense of 'leader' or 'champion,' and as such is used indifferently side by side with different parts of the verb *προίστημι*. Thus Herodotus (i. 59, 69) speaks of Megacles the Alcmaeonid *προεστὼς τῶν παράλων*, of Sparta *προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, and of a man gaining a tyranny through *προστάς τοῦ δήμου*. Thucydides (ii. 65) says that Pericles *προὔστη τῆς πόλεως*, and in the same passage traces the ruin of Athens after his death to the quarrels of inferior men *περὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου προστασίας*. Pericles (Schol. on Arist. Pax 681) was in fact the last Athenian to unite successfully in his own person the two positions of *στρατηγός* and *δημαγωγός* (in the better sense). Henceforward, though members of the aristocratical families were as a general rule elected to be *στρατηγοί*, they were distrusted by the people on account of their Lacedaemonian proclivities.

Men of lower stamp and humbler origin, sprung directly from the masses, were therefore preferred before them and contrasted (Lysias, c. Agorop. 40) with them. This new class of demagogues rose to eminence by winning the ear of the Public Assembly: and though they were seldom elected to fill any of the higher offices, yet they exercised an enormous political power chiefly by proposing and carrying *ψηφίσματα* in the Assembly. Sometimes, however, when they chanced to be members of the Senate (Arist. Eq. 774), they had a still more direct control over the executive officers and the financial administration, besides bringing forward *προβουλεύματα*, which, if passed, were afterwards submitted to the assembly. But perhaps their most favourite method of showing zeal in the popular cause was their institution of prosecutions against generals and other magistrates (Thuc. vii. 48, viii. 65, Plut. Cimon 15) who failed to pass a satisfactory *εὐθύνη* or who were otherwise unsuccessful, or against persons who were suspected of being involved in oligarchical (Arist. Eq. 861) conspiracies.

Usually one such demagogue, like Cleon (Thuc. iii. 36, iv. 21) or Hyperbolus, was pre-eminent over the rest, but it is not to be supposed that the designation *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* was confined to one person only: for Thucydides (viii. 65, 89, iii. 75) speaks of Androcles as *τοῦ δήμου μάλιστα προεστῶτα*, of different persons aspiring to be *πρῶτος προστατής τοῦ δήμου*, and of *οἱ τοῦ δήμου προστάται* at Corcyra. And at the very time when Xenophon in this passage tells us that Archdemus was *ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε προεστηκὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις*, we learn from Lysias (pro bon. Arist. 51) that the demagogue Cleophon *πολλὰ ἔτη διεχέρισε τὰ τῆς πόλεως πάντα*.

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 to meet Alcibiades in battle;
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 money, not as yet expended, to
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 of the allies and Cyrus is once
 more appointed to command
 the fleet, this time as secretary;
 §§ 13, 14, entrusted by Cyrus
 with the money and revenues
 of his satrapy; §§ 15-19, sails
 to Caria, to Rhodes, then past

Ionia up the Hellespont to
 Lampsacus, which he takes by
 storm; §§ 22-30, surprises the
 Athenian fleet at Aegospotami
 and captures the whole of it;
 §§ 31, 32, executes the Athenian
 prisoners; 2. 1, 2, subjugates the
 Hellespont, sending back all the
 Athenian garrisons to Athens;
 § 5, reorganizes Lesbos, and
 other revolted Athenian allies;
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 enters Piraeus and begins the
 destruction of the Long Walls;
 3. 3, 6, besieges and captures
 Samos; §§ 7-9, dismisses his
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 triumph; § 13, helps the Thirty
 to procure a Spartan garrison;
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 a mercenary force at Eleusis
 to support the Thirty against
 Thrasybulus, but is thwarted
 by Pausanias.
 Λυσίας; i. 6. 30, posted on the
 right wing at Arginusae; 7. 2,
 returns to Athens.
 Λυσίμαχος, ii. 4. 8, 26.

Μάδντος, i. 1. 3.
 Μακεδονία, i. 1. 12.
 Μαλέα, in Laconia, i. 2. 18.
 Μαλέα άκρα, in Lesbos, i. 6. 26.
 Μαντίθεος, i. 1. 10, 3. 13.
 Μέγαρα; i. 1. 36, Clearchus ob-
 tains ships from Megara; cf.
 2. 14, 3. 15, Syracusan prisoners
 escape from Piraeus to Megara;
 ii. 4. 1, Athenian exiles in Me-
 gara.
 Μεγαρείς, i. 3. 15.
 Μελάνθιος, ii. 3. 46.
 Μέλητος, ii. 4. 36.
 Μένανδρος; i. 2. 16, commander of
 Athenian hoplites; ii. 1. 16,
 chosen as an additional general
 by the fleet; § 26, foremost in
 rejecting Alcibiades' advice at
 Aegospotami.

Μενεκλῆς, i. 7. 34.
 Μενεκράτης, i. 1. 29.
 Μηδία, ii. 1. 13.
 Μηδοί, i. 2. 19.
 Μήθυμνα: i. 2. 12, Thrasyllus anchors at Methymna; 6. 12, though strongly garrisoned by the Athenians, Methymna is stormed by Callicratidas; § 38, Eteonicus retires to Methymna.
 Μηθυμναῖοι, i. 6. 13, 14.
 Μήλιοι, ii. 2. 3, 9.
 Μηλόβιος, ii. 3. 2.
 Μιλήσιοι, i. 6. 8; ii. 1. 30.
 Μίλητος: i. 1. 31, new Syracusan generals take up their command at Miletus; 2. 2, 3, Milesians worsted in battle by Thrasyllus; 5. 1, Lysander sails to Miletus; cf. 6. 2; 6. 7, 12, Callicratidas obtains money from Miletus.
 Μίνδαρος: i. 1. 4-6, sees battle between Dorieus and the Athenians from Ilium: sails to the rescue, but is compelled to retire by the arrival of Alcibiades; § 11, threatens the Athenians with a fleet of sixty ships; §§ 14-18, defeated and slain at Cyzicus.
 Μισγολαῖδας, ii. 3. 10.
 Μιτραῖος, ii. 1. 8.
 Μιτροβάτης, i. 3. 12.
 Μνησιθείδης, ii. 3. 2.
 Μνησίλοχος, ii. 3. 2.
 Μουνυχία, ii. 4. 11, 37.
 Μυσία, i. 4. 7.
 Μύσκων, i. 1. 29.
 Μυτιληναῖοι, i. 6. 22.
 Μυτιλήνη: i. 6. 16-23, Conon is blockaded in the harbour of Mytilene; §§ 26, 35, Eteonicus is left in command of the blockading squadron at Mytilene; § 38, Athenians after Arginusae sail to Mytilene; cf. 7. 29; ii. 2. 5, reorganized by Lysander.
 Ναύαρχος: cf. note on i. 5. 1.
 Ναυκλείδας, ii. 4. 36.

Νικῆρατος, ii. 3. 39.
 Νικίας, ii. 3. 39.
 Νικόστρατος, ii. 4. 6.
 Νότιον: i. 2. 4, Thrasyllus sails to Notium; § 11, after his defeat at Coressus he retires to Notium; 5. 12-14, Antiochus, Alcibiades' lieutenant, is defeated at Notium; cf. ii. 1. 6.
 Ξέρξης, ii. 1. 8.
 Οινόη, i. 7. 28.
 Οἰταῖοι, i. 2. 18.
 Ὀνομακλῆς, Athenian, ii. 3. 2.
 Ὀνομακλῆς, Spartan, ii. 3. 10.
 Ὀνομάντιος, ii. 3. 10.
 Παντακλῆς, i. 3. 1; ii. 3. 10.
 Πάραλος, ii. 1. 28, 2. 3.
 Πάριον, i. 1. 13.
 Πάρος, i. 4. 11.
 Πασιππίδας: i. 1. 32, exiled from Sparta for the part that he had played in the revolt of Thasos; 3. 13, Spartan envoy; § 17, various guardships had been left by Pasippidas in the Hellespont.
 Πατησιάδας, ii. 3. 10.
 Πανσανίας: ii. 2. 7, leads Peloponnesian army against Athens; 4. 29, 30, through jealousy of Lysander, leads out Peloponnesian allies to Athens; §§ 31-34, conducts at the same time negotiations with, and military operations against, the Athenian democrats in Piraeus; §§ 35-39, effects a peace between Sparta and Athens, and a reconciliation between the Athenian factions.
 Πειραιεύς, i. 1. 35, 3. 22, 4. 12, and passim.
 Πεισίανας, i. 4. 19, 7. 12.
 Πείσων, ii. 3. 2.
 Πελοποννήσιοι, i. 1. 6, 17, 19, and passim.

Περικλῆς : i. 5. 16, chosen general ; 6. 29, posted on the left wing at Arginusae ; 7. 2, returns to Athens ; § 16, kinsman of Euryptolemus ; cf. § 21, persuaded his colleagues not to mention their orders to the trierarchs to rescue the crews.

Περίνθιοι, i. 1. 21.

Πέρινθος, i. 1. 21.

Πέρσαι, i. 2. 19.

Πιτύας, i. 6. 1 ; ii. 3. 10.

Πλειστόλας, ii. 3. 10.

Πλυντήρια, i. 4. 12.

Πολυχάρης, ii. 3. 2.

Πόντος, i. 1. 22 ; ii. 2. 1.

Πόταμις, i. 1. 29.

Προικόννησος, i. 1. 13, 18, 3. 1.

Προμηθεύς, ii. 3. 36.

Πρόξενος, Syracusan, i. 3. 13.

Πρωτόμαχος : i. 5. 16, chosen general ; 6. 30, cf. § 33, posted on the right wing at Arginusae ; 7. 1, does not return to Athens.

Πύγελα, i. 2. 2.

Πυγελείς, i. 2. 2.

Πυθόδωρος, ii. 3. 1.

Πυρρόλοχος, i. 3. 13.

Ραμφίας, i. 1. 35.

Ρόδιος, i. 5. 19.

Ρόδος : i. 1. 2, Dorieus comes from Rhodes ; 5. 1, Lysander sails to Rhodes ; § 19, Dorieus, an exile from Rhodes ; 6. 3, Callicratidas gets ships from Rhodes ; ii. 1. 15, 17, Lysander sails to Rhodes.

Ροίτειον, i. 1. 2.

Σάλαμις, ii. 2. 9.

Σάμιοι, i. 6. 29 ; ii. 2. 6, 3, 6 ; νῆες Σάμαι, i. 6. 25, 7. 30.

Σάμος : i. 2. 1, Thrasyllus sails to Samos ; 4. 8, 9, Alcibiades at Samos ; 5. 14, Athenians after their defeat at Notium retire to Samos ; 6. 15, Conon is cut off while sailing to Samos ; § 25, cf. § 29, Athenians before Arginusae get reinforcements from

Samos ; § 38, Athenians retire to Samos ; ii. 1. 12, Athenians fit out their fleet at Samos, cf. § 16 ; ii. 2. 6, remains faithful to Athens ; 3. 3, 6, 7, surrenders to Lysander, who sets up an oligarchy within it.

Σάρδεις, i. 1. 9, 10, 5. 1.

Σάτυρος, ii. 3. 54.

Σελινούς, i. 1. 37.

Σελινούσιοι, i. 2. 10 ; Σελινούσιαι νῆες, i. 2. 8.

Σελλασία, ii. 2. 13, 19.

Σηλυβρία : i. 1. 21, gives money to Alcibiades ; 3. 10, captured by Alcibiades.

Σηστός : i. 1. 7, 11, headquarters of the Athenians on the Hellespont ; § 36, Clearchus' ships flee to Sestus ; 2. 13, Thrasyllus joins the main Athenian fleet at Sestus ; ii. 1. 20, 25, Athenian fleet sails to Sestus and anchors fifteen stades from the town.

Σθενέλαος, ii. 2. 2.

Σικελία, i. 1. 37, 5. 21.

Σικελιώται, ii. 2. 24.

Σκιωναῖοι, ii. 2. 3.

Σοφοκλῆς, ii. 3. 2.

Σπάρτη, i. 1. 32, 2. 1, 6. 32 ; ii. 3. 1.

Στάγης, i. 2. 5.

Συρακούσιοι : i. 1. 18, burn their ships after their defeat at Cyzicus ; § 26, build new ships at Antandros ; 2. 8, 10, lend help to the Ephesians at Coressus ; § 14, Syracusan prisoners escape from the stone quarries at Piraeus ; ii. 2. 24, Dionysius tyrant of Syracuse ; cp. 3. 5.

Συρακούσαι, i. 1. 29, 31.

Σωκράτης, i. 7. 15.

Σωστράτιδας, ii. 3. 10.

Σωφρονίσκος, i. 7. 15.

Τιμοκράτης, Athenian, i. 7. 3.

Τισσαφέρνης : i. 1. 9, comes to the Hellespont and makes Alcibiades prisoner ; § 31, formerly

accused by Hermocrates at Lacedaemon; 2.6-8, helps Ephesians against Thrasyllus; 5. 2, complained of before Cyrus by Lysander and the Lacedaemonians; §§ 8, 9, fails to persuade Cyrus to adopt his own temporizing policy.

Τραχινία, cf. Ἡράκλεια.

Τυδεύς, ii. 1. 16, 26.

Φανοσθένης, i. 5. 18.

Φαραίος, ii. 3. 4.

Φαρνάβαζος: i. 1. 6, covers Peloponnesian retreat to Abydos; § 19, abandons Cyzicus; § 24, supplies the Peloponnesians with provisions and timber to build new ships; § 26, goes to Chalcedon; 2. 16, defeated by Alcibiades; 3. 5-7, fails to raise the siege of Chalcedon; §§ 8-12, makes a convention with the Athenians and Alcibiades; §§ 12, 13, promises a safe escort to the Athenian ambassadors; § 17, Clearchus, harmost of Byzantium, applies to Pharnabazus for aid; 4. 1-7, meets Cyrus at Gordium, and at his entreaty detains the Athenian envoys for three years.

Φειδρίας, ii. 3. 2.

Φείδων, ii. 3. 2.

Φιλοδίκης, i. 3. 13.

Φιλοκλῆς: i. 7. 1, chosen general; ii. 1. 30-32, taken prisoner by Lysander at Aegospotami and executed, because he had butchered the crews of two Andrian and Corinthian triremes.

Φυλή: ii. 4. 2-5, 7, occupied by

Thrasybulus and successfully defended against the attacks of the Thirty; cf. §§ 10, 12.

Φωκαία: i. 3. 1, temple of Athena in Phocaea burnt; 5. 11, Alcibiades joins Thrasybulus at Phocaea; 6. 33, Peloponnesian fleet after Arginusae mostly flees to Phocaea.

Χαιρέλεως, ii. 3. 2.

Χαιρίλας, ii. 3. 10.

Χαίρων, ii. 4. 33.

Χαρίκλῆς, ii. 3. 2.

Χαρμίδης, ii. 4. 19.

Χερρονησίται, i. 3. 10.

Χερρόνησος: i. 3. 8, 10, Alcibiades gets money and troops from Chersonesus; 5. 17, Alcibiades retires to his forts in Chersonesus; ii. 1. 20, Athenian fleet anchors in Elaeus in Chersonesus; § 27, Athenian crews scattered throughout Chersonesus.

Χίος: i. 1. 32, the admiral Cratesippidas assumes his command in Chios; 6. 3, 12, 18, Calliocratidas gets ships, money, and troops from Chios; ii. 1. 5, 6, Chians give money to Eteonicus and urge the Spartans to appoint Lysander a second time; cf. §§ 10, 17.

Χρέμων, ii. 3. 2.

Χρυσόπολις: i. 1. 22, Alcibiades sets up a toll-house at Chrysopolis; 3. 12, Alcibiades swears to the convention with Pharnabazus at Chrysopolis.

᾽Ωιδεῖον, ii. 4. 9.

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